



Daily Report

East Europe

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20 September 1989

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CONTENTS

20 September 1989

ALBANIA

U.S. Congressman, Croatian Press on Kosovo	[ATA]	1
Publication of Solzhenitsyn in USSR Criticized	[ATA]	1
Alia Greets Ethiopia's Mengistu on Anniversary	[Tirana Radio]	2
Economic Progress Report for 10-16 September	[Tirana Radio]	2
Leaders' Public Appearances 9-15 September	[Tirana Radio]	2

BULGARIA

Dailies Comment on Rehabilitation Decision		3
Visit by PRC Trade Delegation Reported	[BTA]	3
Bulgarian Participation in Zagreb Fair Reported	[BTA]	4
Economic Cooperation Discussed With Nigeria	[BTA]	4
European Agrarian Forum Ends in Varna	[BTA]	4
International Women's Congress Ends Session	[BTA]	4
Ecoforum, Environmental Situation Discussed	[BTA]	5
Ministry of Internal Affairs Day Celebrated	[Sofia Radio]	5

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

More on News Conference on Danube Dam Project	[RUDE PRAVO 16 Sep]	6
Slovaks Complain About Bulk Purchases by Poles	[Bratislava PRAVDA 15 Sep]	6
CSSR-Bulgarian Customs Agreement Amended	[RUDE PRAVO 16 Sep]	6
Fojtik Receives ADN Director General	[RUDE PRAVO 15 Sep]	7
Soviet Trade Official Received at Brno Fair	[RUDE PRAVO 13 Sep]	7
Jakes Visits	[Prague Radio]	7
Planned Foreign Trade Reform Criticized	[Bratislava PRAVDA 13 Sep]	7
CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Session Report	[RUDE PRAVO 15 Sep]	8
Adamec Interviewed on Ecological Engineering	[Prague TV]	9
Zavadil Speech at 12 Sep TU Meeting	[PRACE 13 Sep]	9
Vaclavik Issues Air Force Order of Day	[Bratislava PRAVDA 16 Sep]	13

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Border Troops Reportedly Attacked From FRG	[ADN]	14
FRG Delegation Visits, Condemns Campaign	[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 15 Sep]	14
Delegation Head Discusses Belgrade Summit	[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 16-17 Sep]	14
Arms Talks Envoy Discusses Requirements	[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 15 Sep]	15
SED's Hager Meets Hungarian Party Official	[ADN]	15
Austria's Vranitzky Praises Bilateral Relations	[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 16-17 Sep]	16
Deng Xiaoping Thanks Honecker for Cable	[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 15 Sep]	16
PRC Ambassador Praises Cooperation Effort	[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 16-17 Sep]	17
DPRK Telecommunications Minister Visits	[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 14 Sep]	17
Ambassador Presents Credentials to 'Arafat	[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 16-17 Sep]	17
New Berlin Bishop Sends Message to Honecker	[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 16-17 Sep]	18
Evangelical Church Synod Meeting in Eisenach	[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 16-17 Sep]	18
Synod Asks 'Variety of Parties'	[Hamburg DPA]	18
Clergymen Urge Open Discussion in GDR	[Hamburg DPA]	18
Authorities Take 'Tough Line' on Critics	[Hamburg DPA]	19
Fischer Discusses GDR Foreign Policy	[EINER No. 9-10 1989]	19

HUNGARY

Szurows Comments on U.S. Talks, Aid	[Budapest Radio]	22
Rumors of Armed Conflict With Romania 'Unfounded'	[MTI]	22
Foreign Ministry Aide on GDR Exodus	[Paris LE FIGARO 15 Sep]	22
Parliamentary Committee on Nagymaros Dam Issue	[MTI]	23
No Progress at Talks	[MTI]	24
Nemeth Receives EC Trade Official	[MTI]	24
Nemeth Meets With British Publisher	[MTI]	25
Pozsgay Receives Canadian Delegation	[MTI]	25
Nemeth Interviewed on Regional Security Proposal	[MAGYAR HIRLAP 12 Sep]	25
Trilateral Political Coordination Talks Held	[Budapest TV]	26
Hungarian Democratic Forum Press Briefing	[Budapest Radio]	29
SZDSZ Holds Press Conference in Budapest	[MTI]	30
MSZMP To Hand Over Property to Government	[MTI]	30
Horvath Says Pecs Mine To Be Closed	[MTI]	30
Government Spokesman Holds Press Conference	[MAGYAR HIRLAP 8 Sep]	31

POLAND

U.S. Commerce Secretary Mosbacher Visits Poland		33
Holds Meeting With Jaruzelski	[PAP]	33
Talks With Mazowiecki	[PAP]	33
Meets With Ministry Representatives	[PAP]	33
FRG Embassy in Warsaw To Close 'Temporarily'	[Warsaw Radio]	33
Further on Embassy Closure	[PAP]	33
EC Officials Visit, Agreement Signed in Warsaw	[PAP]	33
Meet With Jaruzelski	[PAP]	34
Give Press Conference	[PAP]	35
Michnik Views Historic Change in East Europe	[Vienna TV]	35
Ministry Investigating Romanian Border Incident	[Warsaw Radio]	35
Shamir's Polish Anti-Semitism Comments Refuted		
[Michnik in GAZETA WYBORCZA 15-17 Sep]		35
New Ministers Meet With Jaruzelski	[TRYBUNA LUDU 14 Sep]	36
Jaruzelski Addresses New Government	13 Sep [TRYBUNA LUDU 14 Sep]	37
New Department Secretaries Appointed	[TRYBUNA LUDU 14 Sep]	39
Labor Minister Kuron Outlines Tasks	[Warsaw TV]	39
Commentary on Interior Ministry Budget	[Markiewicz in POLITYKA]	40
PZPR Seeks Members' Opinions on Elections	[PAP]	43
Rakowski Addresses Lodz Party Aktivs	[TRYBUNA LUDU 15 Sep]	44
Transport Workers Continue Strike in Torun	[PAP]	44

ROMANIA

Stalin's 'Secret Protocol' Deemed 'Illegal'	[Drecki in AGERPRES]	45
Barbulescu Receives CPSU Delegation	[AGERPRES]	45
Balkan Trade Union Conference Held in Bucharest	[AGERPRES]	46
Ceausescu Greets Zhivkov on Anniversary of Ties	[SCINTELA 17 Sep]	46
Economic Commission Session With PRC Starts	[AGERPRES]	46
Chinese Military Delegation's Visit Reviewed	[AGERPRES]	46
Ceausescu Greets Pinocchet on National Day	[SCINTELA 17 Sep]	47
Dascalescu Greets New Algerian Prime Minister	[AGERPRES]	47
Ceausescu Visits Iasi, Suceava Counties		47
Tours Iasi Enterprises	[AGERPRES]	47
Visit Continues	[AGERPRES]	48
Meets Iasi RCP Bureau	[AGERPRES]	49
Visits Suceava	15 Sep [AGERPRES]	49
Meets Suceava RCP Bureau	[AGERPRES]	50
Speech at Suceava Rally	[SCINTELA 17 Sep]	50
Leaders' Public Appearances for 9-15 Sep		51

YUGOSLAVIA

Party Plenum Accused of 'Avoiding Issue' [BORBA 15 Sep]	52
Party Presidium Discusses Political Changes [Belgrade Radio]	52
Croatian Official on Pressure on Judiciary [VJESNIK 10 Sep]	53
Dimitrovic on 'Provocations' Against Croatia [Zagreb Radio]	54
Zagreb Party Session Notes Nationalist Problems [TANJUG]	54
Croat LC Criticizes Vojvodina LC's Stances [TANJUG]	55
France Popit Letter to Kucan Published [BORBA 8 Sep]	56
Commentary on Ethnic Conflicts in SFRY [Pengov on Ljubljana Radio]	57
Albanian Women Sentenced After March Protests [RILINDJA 12 Sep]	58
Tirana's 'Unscrupulous Attacks' Criticized [RILINDJA 16 Sep]	58
Human Rights Violations Criticized by IHF [Vienna DIE PRESSE 19 Sep]	59
Helsinki Delegation Arrival 'Unannounced' [BORBA 15 Sep]	59
Hungary's Keleti Cited on Troop Withdrawal [TANJUG]	60

U.S. Congressman, Croatian Press on Kosovo

AU1909105889 Tirana ATA in English
0815 GMT 19 Sep 89

["Serbia's Current Policy Towards the Albanians of Kosovo Is Doomed To Fail—The U.S. Congressman, Tom Lantos, Who Visited This Province Recently, States"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, September 19 (ATA)—Recently, the U.S. press published an interview with the U.S. Congressman Tom Lantos, member of the Foreign Relations Commission of the House of Representatives, who visited Kosovo recently. Speaking of his impressions concerning the current situation in this province, he said:

I returned from Kosovo very anxious. As it seems, bitter charges will be brought against a great number of Albanians, who are now in prison. But the charges against them are not convincing. Hence, the former leader of LC [League of Communists] of Kosovo, Azem Vlasi, who admits that he has met with the striking miners in an effort to calm down the situation, now is accused by the official authorities of allegedly inciting the miners to continue the strike and of stirring up tension. Various organizations in the U.S.A. and in Western Europe, charged with the observation of human rights, will not be given the chance of conducting independent investigation. I think it would be very exciting if the persons who are now in prison are sentenced. Very worrying are also the efforts by the president of Serbia's Presidency, Slobodan Milosevic, to impose Serbian hegemony over the other ethnic groups. Yugoslavia does not need a policy which aggravates the present inter-national tensions.

Tom Lantos, who mentioned that the U.S. Congress condemned the persecution of the Albanians of Kosovo, stressed that in fact it is very difficult or impossible that a people be deprived of their legitimate rights. The Serbian regime headed by Milosevic, he said, is trying to make such a thing in the province of Kosovo, where the Albanian population demands equal rights with the other peoples of Yugoslavia, as well as in the Vojvodina province. The Serbian leadership is depriving Kosovo even of that autonomy it had up to now. Such a policy is doomed to fail and will have a grave impact on the peoples of Yugoslavia.

Asked of his impression of the visit, the U.S. congressman said that the visit to Kosovo had proved completely his worry over the violation of the Albanians' rights. I consider the situation in Kosovo, where my wife and I travelled for a long time throughout the province, very worrying, he stressed, adding that the people of this region deserve a better treatment. I noticed, he said, the discrimination made to the Albanians by the Serbian authorities. On the other side, a great number of Albanians feel themselves desperate. The economic situation is extremely worrying.

The Reporters' Association of Croatia Protests Against the Authorities' Decision To Limit the Reflection in Press of Azem Vlasi's Trial

The Yugoslav news agency, TANJUG, reports that the Reporters' Association of Croatia protested against the authorities' decision to limit the reflection in press of the coming trial of the former party leader of Kosovo province, Azem Vlasi and of the other 14 Albanians. In a statement published in Zagreb, the presidency of the association demands from the Yugoslav Reporters' Association to present an official protest to the authorities against such an attempt of manipulating the public opinion.

After pointing out that only the representatives of TANJUG and Kosovo's newspapers JEDINSTVO and RILINDJA are allowed to reflect the trial, the Croatian reporters warn that the imposed restrictions leave "a bitter taste of doubt and leave room for manipulation."

The newspaper DANAS of Zagreb wrote recently that it should not be forgotten the fact that besides Yugoslavia, the world, too, which recently has adopted a critical stand regarding the Albanians' position in Yugoslavia, is very much interested to be acquainted with the legal proceedings being prepared in Kosovo. The closed door trial or the avoidance of the public opinion arouses doubts and creates the conviction that Azem Vlasi is being judged according to some criteria not envisaged by law. Then, DANAS stressed in conclusion, one might easily believe that perhaps he may be sentenced only because he is an Albanian and here lies, as it seems, his greatest error: that he forgot this fact.

Publication of Solzhenitsyn in USSR Criticized

AU1809130389 Tirana ATA in English
1048 GMT 18 Sep 89

["The Anticommunist Dissidents—A Contingent to Help Perestrojka"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, September 18 (ATA)—The newspaper DRITA, organ of the Writers and Artists League of Albania, carries in its latest issue an article under the above title, written by Petrit Haliti. It says among others:

The publication of the known anticommunist work by the writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, "The Gulag Archipelago," in the Soviet Union marks a new phase for the rehabilitation, in the context of perestrojka, of all that pleiad of writers, artists and intellectuals who with their creativity opposed the political, economic, and spiritual process and transformation that the October Revolution brought about. The much fuss inside and outside the Soviet Union is aimed not at hailing the rehabilitation of Solzhenitsyn than to make new dithyrambs for perestrojka, glasnost, and their ideas.

The campaign initiated by Gorbachev has to do neither with "artistic or literary" aim: nor with the "spiritual reanimation" of the life of the present soviet Society. The current Soviet leadership aims to attain its goals and

fulfill its need through this campaign. First of all, it should be said that spiritual identity and that of ideas exists between perestroika and the content of the work and the world outlook of all those dissident anticomunist writers and artists that are being rehabilitated. This identity has to do mainly with the efforts to completely destroy every socialist facade and ethic in order to reorientate rapidly all the country's life. Perestroika too is applying precisely what Solzhenitsyn, Medvedev, Ljubimov and others had long since sought for, in order to oppose openly not only Stalin, but also Lenin, socialism as a practice of Marxism, as a doctrine.

Perestroika needs allies in many fields. It especially wants to find a greater support in the ranks of creative intelligentsia. The leadership wants to put this rehabilitated dissident intelligentsia in service of propagating perestroika and spreading its ideas. Through this act it is aimed at presenting perestroika before the eyes of the internal public opinion as a philosophy, which is conforms to the spirit and aspirations of [word indistinct]. But in fact this conformity is not in the context of art but only in the political and ideological aspirations, which run down to overt anticommunism.

What should be stressed in the present campaign of rehabilitating the runaway Soviet dissidents is also the conjuncture of relations and of the stand of the West towards perestroika and the whole program of reforms in revisionist countries. Never before have the big western capital circles displayed such a broad financial and spiritual backing for the reforms in the Soviet Union. The greatest attacks are spearheaded against socialism and socialist period of the Soviet Union of the time of Lenin and Stalin from perestroika itself. Hence the activity of the dissidents would be more effective for its capital and anticommunist strategy if they were in their own country. On this point the West joins with the interests of the Soviet leadership and the problem of the dissidents from a point of disagreements between them, is turned into an object of common interests.

The campaign of rehabilitating the anticommunist writers and artists aims at strengthening the positions of perestroika and Soviet leadership.

Alia Greets Ethiopia's Mengistu on Anniversary

AT1209191089 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, has sent the following telegram to Mengistu Haile Mariam, President of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia:

On the occasion of your National Day, it is my pleasure, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and personally, to convey to you and

the friendly Ethiopian people sincere greetings and best wishes for their progress and prosperity.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express the wish that the friendly relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia may develop constantly.

Economic Progress Report for 10-16 September

AT1609191889

[Editorial report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 10-16 September carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of transmission in parentheses):

Berat District: The overall industrial production plan was overfulfilled by 2 million leks and the export plan by 4.7 million leks. (1800 GMT 13 Sep 89)

Gramsh District: The industrial plan for the 8-month period was exceeded by 7 percent. (1800 GMT 12 Sep 89)

Korce District: The industrial production plan for the period up to 10 September was exceeded by 4.7 million leks. (1800 GMT 13 Sep 89)

Librazhd District: The industrial production plan was overfulfilled by 6 million leks. (1800 GMT 15 Sep 89)

Shkoder District: The 8-month export plan has been overfulfilled by 14 million leks. (1800 GMT 12 Sep 89)

Tropoje District: The industrial production plan up to 10 September was fulfilled by 101 percent. (1800 GMT 13 Sep 89)

Vlore District: The industrial production plan was exceeded by 7 million leks and the export plan by 1.2 million leks. (1800 GMT 15 Sep 89)

Leaders' Public Appearances 9-15 September

AT1509194089

[Editorial report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 9-15 September reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of report given in parentheses):

Besnik Bektashi, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee (CC) Politburo member, and Pirro Kondi, AWP CC Politburo candidate member, attended a ceremony at which decorations were awarded to vanguard collectives and workers in Tirana on 14 September. (2000 GMT 14 Sep 89)

Muho Asllani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, attended a ceremony at which decorations were awarded to vanguard collectives and workers in Durres on 14 September. (2000 GMT 14 Sep 89)

Dailies Comment on Rehabilitation Decision

AU1809152189

[Editorial report] Bulgarian dailies of 14 September elaborate various aspects of the decision of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) Central Committee Politburo "On the Political Rehabilitation Individually by Name of the Bulgarian Political Emigrants Repressed in the USSR."

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 14 September on page 3 under the headline "Test of Courage," carries a 2,000-word collection of Georgi Dimitrov's letters to Lavrentiy Beriya and Georgiy Malenkov, written in the period of 1938-1940 in which Dimitrov tried to effect the release of Bulgarian political emigrants arrested during the Great Purge period. The letters are preceded by a 500-word article signed "Central Party Archive of the BCP Central Committee." The article describes the Politburo decision on the rehabilitation of the Bulgarian political emigrants in the USSR as a "highly humane and noble manifestation of the BCP moral virtues and democratic traditions." It points out that "the letter of the CPSU Central Committee, which expressed agreement to expand the access of the fraternal parties to the archives of the Communist International" had "fundamental importance" in clarifying the fate and activity of the Bulgarian political emigrants in the USSR. In addition, the article points out that documents related to the Bulgarian political emigrants "have been given to Comrade Todor Zhivkov by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev during their recent meeting in Moscow." The letters by Georgi Dimitrov, carried by the newspaper, were among the materials given to Todor Zhivkov. Finally, the article emphasizes that the materials "are kept at the BCP Central Committee archives," and that "in future the archive of the BCP Central Committee will pass on materials related to the past of the Bulgarian political emigration to RABOTNICHESKO DELO and other dailies."

In his letters, as carried by RABOTNICHESKO DELO, Georgi Dimitrov points out that "honest Bulgarian Communists have become victims of the intrigues of the enemies of the people." (Letter to Beriya of 7 December 1938). In other letters he describes the arrest of Bulgarian political emigrants as "a mistake," or "a result of slander." (Letter to USSR Chief Prosecutor of 15 February 1940, and repeatedly demands the release of the "large group of people, who are by no means enemies of the people, provocateurs, and spies." (Letter to Georgiy Malenkov of 3 July 1940).

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 14 September on pages 1 and 3 carries a 1,000-word article by Dr Vladimir Bonev, chairman of the Central Committee of the Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism, entitled "Return of Soldiers." Bonev points out that "some 868 of the 2,000 Bulgarian emigrants in the USSR have been repressed, and 579 of them have perished." He stresses that "those were leading figures of the party, guilty of nothing, whose relatives and friends expected justice to prevail. Now it really prevailed." Bonev

expresses the opinion that the rehabilitation is "exceptionally important" at the present, "when revolutionary restructuring of our society is under way, and when the party prepares to celebrate its 100th anniversary and the 50th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria." In conclusion Bonev announces that OTECHESTVEN FRONT will introduce a new rubric entitled "Nobody is Forgotten," which "will acquaint the readers with memoirs, photos, and other materials related to the repressed figures."

Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on 14 September on page 3 carries a 1,400-word article by Pavel Pisarev entitled "The List." The first part of the article describes the fate of Dimitur Gachev, Bulgarian Communist and musician, who perished in the USSR, after being arrested after receiving a parcel "wrapped up in a newspaper, which contained an article by Trotsky." Afterward Pisarev imparts memoirs of Dinyo Georgiev Kyosev, a Bulgarian Communist who had been repressed in the USSR, survived, returned to Bulgaria in 1948, and worked in TRUD until his death. Pisarev ponders on Kyosev's character and loyalty to the BCP and says: "We, the young journalists, never heard him uttering a foul word against the USSR. Despite the bitter experience he steadfastly backed the party line and adhered to Bulgarian-Soviet friendship. Was it fanaticism? Fear? Experience? Discipline? I used to think about it then, when I asked him about certain things, and I think about it now. Such was the political moral of those people...."

Further on Pisarev also describes the role of Georgi Dimitrov and Vasil Kolarov in saving many Bulgarian political emigrants. He praises the party for having adopted the decision to rehabilitate the Bulgarian emigrants in the USSR and describes the decision as a "proof of the results of restructuring in Bulgaria and of the successes in constructing the democratic, highly developed, and civilized society in Bulgaria."

Visit by PRC Trade Delegation Reported

*AU1509200389 Sofia BTA in English
1801 GMT 15 Sep 89*

[Text] Sofia, September 15 (BTA)—A delegation of the People's Republic of China headed by Mr Zhang Shiyao, vice minister of commerce, is visiting this country. The guests were acquainted with the structure and organization of work in trade projects.

At the talks with the Bulgarian partners experience was exchanged.

The sides discussed the opportunities for the exchange of goods between Bulgaria and China.

The delegation was received by Mr Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Bulgarian Participation in Zagreb Fair Reported*AU1809193389 Sofia BTA in Bulgarian
1340 GMT 18 Sep 89*

[Text] Zagreb, September 18 (BTA)—At the international fair which was opened in Zagreb today Bulgaria's pavilion occupies an area of almost 800 square metres. Well-known Bulgarian companies, foreign trade and engineering organizations have exhibited their products, the centerpiece being the products of mechanical engineering and electronics.

New products are exhibited by the "Machinoexport" Foreign Trade Company which is showing the technological laser complex "Khebur-1300". The electronic industry is represented by the "Izotimpex" State Company and the firms "Periphery Equipment" and "Microprocessor Systems". The "Pharmachim" Trade Company is exhibiting different medicines and a variegated collection of cosmetics.

By tradition, the products of the "Balkancarimpex" Trade Company rouse interest. The company is demonstrating hoisting and hauling machines. Its electric cars, all-purpose fork lifts "Druzha" and diesel motor cars "Record" attract attention. The exhibits of one of the leading exporters of telephone and warehouse equipment in the world—the "Balkancarpodem" are also of great interest.

The trade between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia is expected to reach a total of 2.3 milliard dollars' worth in the 1986-90 period.

Economic Cooperation Discussed With Nigeria*AU1809163289 Sofia BTA in English
1349 GMT 18 Sep 89*

["Bulgaria-Nigeria: Development of Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 18 (BTA)—The fifth session of the Bulgaro-Nigerian Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation began today. The two delegations headed by Mr Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria and of Mr Mohammed Zium Anka, state minister of foreign affairs of Nigeria, are discussing the further development of mutually advantageous joint economic activity.

Nigeria is Bulgaria's largest trade partner in tropical Africa. Ten joint enterprises are developing successful activity. Numerous are the projects, built in Nigeria with the participation of the Bulgarian company "Transkomplekt" while Electroimpex is building electrical networks in some regions of Nigeria. The plant for electric and I.C.E. [internal combustion engine] trucks assembly, which is being built in Nigeria with the participation of the Bulgarian Balkancar Company is the first of its kind not only in Nigeria but in the whole of Africa.

In May this year in the Bulgarian city of Plovdiv a Bulgaro-Nigerian Chamber was set up, chaired by Prince Conzin Mosheshe. In August the Mosheshe group and Bulgarian companies set up jointly in Lagos the Niger Balkan Company for import and export of goods from both countries. The new company has ambitious plans based on sound possibilities: from engineering to building of medium and small enterprises in the different branches of Nigeria's economy, export to third markets, etc.

European Agrarian Forum Ends in Varna*AU1609183089 Sofia BTA in English
1948 GMT 15 Sep 89*

[Text] Varna, September 15 (BTA)—The European Agrarian Forum ended here today. This specialized session of the working group with FAO [UN Food and Agriculture Organization] and EEC on the agrarian structures and rationalization of agriculture was devoted to the 10th anniversary of the Rome World Conference on Agrarian Reforms.

In the course of four days delegations from Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, the GDR, the FRG, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland and the Soviet Union, and representatives of FAO and EEC discussed the problems and tendencies in the agrarian policy of the European countries.

The trends, the experience and the achievements in agriculture in the FRG and France, in Italy and the Netherlands, for instance, provoked great interest in the Bulgarian participants, said the chairman of the session, Prof Dr Todor Pandov, first deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Agricultural Academy. Here are some spheres which deserve the attention: farming company organization, social policy in the village, participation of the state in the production regulation, economic resources, incentives, and environment preservation.

The session adopted a conclusive report which gives concrete recommendations for the governments of the European countries for the resolution of a number of comprehensive problems related to the structural changes in agriculture, to labor force and the visions for its further stabilization and activation.

International Women's Congress Ends Session*AU1609150289 Sofia BTA in English
2007 GMT 15 Sep 89*

[Text] Sofia, September 15 (BTA)—The Sofia session of the International Democratic Federation of Women [IDFW] ended. In the course of four days was discussed the state and the further development of the federation. The session proved the readiness of the representatives of different national women's organizations to give their contribution for the raising of the prestige of the international federation in compliance with the requirements of the new political thinking and the new historical realities.

At the conclusive plenary session were discussed the reports on the results of the discussions in the four commissions. It was recommended to take to the foreground the global human problems. One of the chief obligations of the federation will be to propose such forms of work which will be most close to the specific interests of women in the different regions of the world.

Proposals have been made to improve the structure of the IDWF aiming at the improvement of the national regional representation in it. Regional bureaus will be established in the future. It is in the spirit for the further democratization of the activity of the organization. It was noted that it is necessary to broaden the social base of the IDFW, to look for new ways for interaction with other progressive movements like a number of socio-democratic, socialist and liberal women's organizations, religious, ecological and other societies.

Ms Inger Hirvele of Finland was elected a new secretary general of the IDWF. Ms Elena Lagadinova of Bulgaria was elected chairman of the auditing commission.

The Eugenie Cotton Medal, the greatest distinction of IDFW, was conferred on the Chairman of the IDWF Ms Frieda Braun and on its former Secretary General Miriam Vire-Touminen, as a recognition of their long years of fruitful activity.

Ecoforum, Environmental Situation Discussed

*AU1409195489 Sofia BTA in English
1842 GMT 14 Sep 89*

[Text] Sofia, September 14 (BTA)—At its successive meeting the National Organizing Committee considered the preparation for the meeting on environmental protection of the countries participants in the CSCE which is to be held in Sofia from October 16 till November 3 this year.

The participants were acquainted with the initiatives of the municipal City Council on environment protection.

In order to improve the state of Sofia's air basin, the city public transport is converted to diesel fuel with reduced sulfur content. Control is organized at 50 points of the

level of noxiousness of transport vehicles waste gases and stoppage is undertaken of transport vehicles the noxious gases of which are above the admissible level. Checks have been made in a number of enterprises, foundries and purifying stations, etc.

Further initiatives were mapped up for accelerated fulfillment of the measures connected with the provision of good conditions for work of the delegates, the greater citizens' information about the Ecoforum in Sofia and the new ecological policy pursued by the country.

Ministry of Internal Affairs Day Celebrated

*AU1509185589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1730 GMT 15 Sep 89*

[Text] A festive meeting was held in Sofia today to mark the 45th anniversary of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Comrades Grisha Filipov and Nacho Papazov; Velko Palin, head of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Social and National Security Department; ministers; deputy ministers; and representatives of social and mass political organizations attended.

Georgi Tanev, minister of internal affairs, delivered a speech. He pointed out that the people were still mourning their dead heroes of the September 1944 uprising, when the revolution forged its sword of steel—the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The speaker analyzed the work of the People's Militia members, of the State Security officials, of the border troops, and the fire brigades. Over 45 years all the employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have loyally served their party and people and have always been aware of their great responsibilities, of their tasks to guarantee social security, law and order, and a peaceful life on Bulgaria's territory.

There have been shortcomings over those years, and difficult periods were experienced. However, such things are part of every struggle. The reviving and innovative process which followed the historical April Plenum of the BCP Central Committee in our country had a beneficial effect on the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The deviations in the work of these organs were resolutely overcome and eliminated, Minister Georgi Tanev stated.

More on News Conference on Danube Dam Project

AU 1909141889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
16 Sep 89 p 1

[“ge”-signed report: “The Cheapest Hydropower Projects Are Those in Operation; From a News Conference on the Construction of the Danube System”]

[Text] Bratislava (from our correspondent)—In accord with the conclusions of the talks between Pavel Hrivnak, CSSR deputy premier, and Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, on topical aspects of the construction of the system of hydropower projects on the Danube, which were conducted in Bratislava last Saturday [9 September], Czechoslovak and Hungarian experts on international law will meet in Prague at the beginning of next week to consider legal questions connected with the possible alternative technical solution concerning the use of the Gabčíkovo hydroelectric power station, which is set forth in the Czechoslovak standpoint on these talks. As Vladimir Lokvenc, CSSR Government commissioner for the construction of the system of hydropower projects on the Danube, stressed at a news conference in Bratislava on Friday [15 September], the talks between lawyers from the two countries are part of preparations for the talks between the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic heads of government, which are slated for 31 October this year. As is known from their previous talks, at this meeting the final decision is to be made on whether the construction of the system of hydropower projects will continue in accordance with the valid interstate Czechoslovak-Hungarian agreement of 1977. In the event that the Hungarian side continues to adhere to the position it has maintained so far—that is, **if it continues to unilaterally violate the valid agreement and decides to abandon construction altogether or to at least considerably postpone it**—Engineer Lokvenc stressed, its course of action would compel the Czechoslovak side to take up an alternative provisional and temporary technical solution exclusively on CSSR territory, which would secure putting the Gabčíkovo hydroelectric power station into limited operation. In this way, it would be possible to at least partially reduce the damage which the Czechoslovak side would sustain owing to the course pursued by the Hungarian People's Republic. This would allow Czechoslovakia to utilize, at least to some extent, its investments in the project, while **the damages which Hungary will be obliged to pay to Czechoslovakia as compensation would be reduced.** In this connection V. Lokvenc called attention to the fact that **if the system of hydropower projects is not built as a complex, that is, including the Nagymaros hydroelectric power plant, even today experts tentatively estimate the damage at almost \$2 billion annually.**

In reply to journalists' questions, V. Lokvenc stressed that the Czechoslovak side is doing all it can to launch the first unit of the Gabčíkovo hydroelectric power plant by the government-set deadline, that is, in July 1990.

Both sides would benefit if the Hungarian side, too, continued in the construction of the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros system of hydropower projects, particularly in damming the Danube river bed at Dunakiliti, in harmony with the agreement. After all, the investment resources spent should yield benefit for both countries. **According to experts' calculations, the damage sustained so far for which the Hungarian People's Republic ought to compensate Austria, because of the unilateral suspension of work at the Nagymaros section, already amounts to 17.5 billion Austrian schillings.** Who will be served by the losses becoming even bigger in the period to come?

Slovaks Complain About Bulk Purchases by Poles

AU 2009085389 Bratislava PR AV D 1
in Slovak 15 Sep 89 p 2

[Interview with Engineer Juraj Kulisiak, director of the customs administration of the Slovak Socialist Republic, by Gustav Capko and Peter Bulik: “On the Adjustment in the Prices of Gasoline for Citizens of the Hungarian People's Republic;” date and place of interview not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Capko, Bulik] Comrade director, the editorial office has been receiving information from citizens about inordinate purchases of foodstuffs by Polish tourists. Some of the information we received is about purchases of 50 kilograms of meat, and so forth.

[Kulisiak] We have not registered anything of this sort at our northern border. We must not forget, however, that some 15,000 Polish citizens work here, who actively contribute to the creation of our national income. In other words, they enjoy the same rights as our consumers. They are allowed to take home goods worth 50 to 100 percent of their monthly earnings. Sometimes, after the end of the working week, they send one fellow worker to buy foodstuffs for the others. In such cases, the impression of inordinate purchases may be created. According to my information, these citizens appreciate these advantages and do not misuse them. As for the other cases referred to by our citizens, mainly in connection with the goods that are freely offered by citizens of the Polish People's Republic on our territory, these may well be cases involving illegal border crossings. We must take a more thorough look at this problem, together with organs of the Ministry of Interior and the Environment of the Slovak Socialist Republic.

CSSR-Bulgarian Customs Agreement Amended

AU 2009075989 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 16 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report in the “International Contacts” column]

[Text] A protocol amending the agreement on customs relief for citizens of the CSSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic working or studying on the territory of the other state was signed by Jiri Broz, general director of the

Central Customs Administration, and Nikola Nikolov, chief of the Customs Administration of the Bulgarian People's Republic, in Prague on Friday [15 September]. The ceremony was attended by Toncho Chakarov, ambassador of the Bulgarian People's Republic to the CSSR.

Fojtik Receives ADN Director General

*AU2009084389 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 15 Sep 89 p 2*

[CTK report: "The ADN Director General Is Received"]

[Text] Prague—On Thursday [14 September] in Prague Jan Fojtik, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, received Guenther Poetschke, director general of the ADN press agency, who was accompanied by Otto Cmolik, central director of CTK. The meeting was devoted to new forms of further intensifying cooperation between both press agencies.

Helmut Ziebart, GDR ambassador to the CSSR, was present.

Soviet Trade Official Received at Brno Fair

*AU1809141989 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 13 Sep 89 p 2*

[CTK report]

[Text] Talks were held in Brno on Tuesday [12 September] between CSSR Deputy Premier and Minister of Metallurgy, Engineering and the Electrotechnical Industry Ladislav Vodrazka and first CSSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Miroslav Cuker, and first USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Aleksandr Kachanov. They considered the possibilities of a further development of economic relations between the CSSR and the USSR, as well as topical questions of goods exchange between the two countries.

Jakes Visits

*LD1809101189 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 0700 GMT 18 Sep 89*

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today visited the 31st international engineering fair in Brno. After hearing introductory information from representatives of the foreign trade minister and of Czechoslovak participants about the fair, he viewed the exhibits of Czechoslovak and foreign exhibitors.

Planned Foreign Trade Reform Criticized

*AU2009094989 Bratislava PR AVDA
in Slovak 13 Sep 89 p 4*

[Article by Engineer Julius Heriban, general director of the Omnia foreign trade enterprise, Bratislava: "It Is a Short Distance From a Flawed Diagnosis to Flawed Therapy: A Reflection on the Problem of Increasing the Efficiency of Foreign Trade"]

[Excerpts] Almost 40 percent of our national income is effected through the medium of foreign trade and the trend suggests that this proportion will increase further. However, our efficiency in the international division of labor shows the existence of significant reserves and reflects our trailing behind in many domains. This trailing behind is caused by the manufacturers' slow reaction to scientific-technical progress, to the requirements of foreign customers, and to the changing conditions on the world market. In this context, there is much talk about the independent foreign trade activity of manufacturing enterprises. Generally, the advocates of independent foreign trade activity for manufacturing enterprises polemically argue that manufacturers lack the information with which they could translate knowledge acquired from developments in the world into our economy. This mainly concerns the trends of scientific-technical development, prompt and readily available information on the situation on the markets, information on prices, and so forth. According to this school of thought, the taking over of foreign trade activity would result in a more rapid response to developments in the world and would soon make itself positively felt in manufacturing.

The aforementioned views are easy to refute. The employees of manufacturing organizations account for a substantially greater proportion of foreign business trips than foreign trade staffers. Consequently, the flow of information is not the main problem. The main problem is that the exponents of the aforementioned views fail to respect one piece of knowledge that can be verified every day on foreign markets—that the basic prerequisite for high-quality commercial activity and efficient export performance is a high-quality, competitive product. [passage omitted]

We must not continue to close our eyes to the fact that in recent years we have not been competitors for the advanced nonsocialist countries as regards the growth rate of labor productivity and that, according to statistical data, we have even been overtaken by some developing countries on this count. In the era of the automation of manufacturing processes in which the advanced countries find themselves, the main problem in the world is not to manufacture high-quality goods, but to sell them. It needs to be said that our economic propaganda is not trying to make people think in the categories of this present-day world reality and that it glorifies "production successes." [passage omitted]

Such a partly deformed perspective is then also the source of the aforementioned views about ways of solving the problems of foreign trade. A flawed diagnosis is logically followed by flawed therapy, which starts with the destruction of the organizational setup without the benefit of the new organizational structure being exactly demonstrated, at least on the theoretical plane. [passage omitted]

If the whole system of planned national economic management does not encourage internal economic factors to export and to innovate, if it does not create an exacting criterial environment, then it is irrational to look for the causes of the unsatisfactory performance of foreign trade predominantly in the organizational sphere, in the sphere of mutual relations between manufacturing factors and foreign trade factors. No partial organizational changes can contribute to the required increase in the efficiency of the international division of labor. The primary condition is the across-the-board introduction of economic instruments in which these factors operate. The organizational form should be the logical consequence of the operation of these instruments.

The situation on the markets of nonsocialist states is characterized by steadily escalating competition. Trade is being used to assert strategic political targets. The EC, which accounts for 60 percent of Czechoslovak foreign trade with nonsocialist states, pursues an essentially uniform trade policy toward the socialist countries. The influence and coordination of national and multinational monopolies on the world markets are expanding.

Such trade policy must be countered not by the fragmentation of foreign trade factors but, rather, centrally, so that policy has an equal partner at the appropriate professional level. A manufacturing enterprise grappling with everyday problems of a production nature can scarcely be expected to constitute such a partner.

The autarkic provision of various activities and the high degree of universality of operations are irrational and an anachronism from the viewpoint of world developments. Quite the reverse, the increasing specialization in the provision of specialized activities within the framework of narrowly defined subdivisions of the reproduction cycle leads to the efficient meeting of planned targets while minimizing the cost of such activities. It follows from the above analysis that the question of the organizational setup of foreign trade should be solely and exclusively the result of economic considerations and not the outcome of considerations using arguments from outside the economic sphere.

CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Session Report

*AU 2009071989 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 15 Sep 89 p 1*

[“Report From a CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Session”]

[Text] Prague—At its Thursday [14 September] session the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central

Committee Presidium discussed some issues concerning the preparation of the 1990 national economic plan and the preparations for the primary organizations’ annual members’ meetings and the CPCZ conferences. It also discussed organizational issues regarding the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session.

The Presidium considered some issues apropos the further development of CPCZ cooperation with the other political parties in the National Front. It stated that, as far as this cooperation is concerned, vis a vis these parties the CPCZ is proceeding and will continue to proceed as it would toward its allies—independent entities in the creation, implementation, and control of National Front policy. It stressed that the CPCZ, from the center right down to the primary elements, will form an alliance with these parties on the principles of mutual respect, in order to jointly seek starting points for the resolution of current problems and for the implementation of the tasks of restructuring and democratization. This cooperation envisages regular meetings between the leading functionaries of the National Front parties to discuss fundamental issues within the framework of the federation and the territorial organs.

The Presidium discussed the principles of courts’ activities in guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of citizens and in fulfilling their obligations, including expanding the possibilities of reviewing the courts’ administrative decisions. It recommended that the necessary legislative, organizational, and cadre prerequisites be created in order to thoroughly implement the adopted conclusions. In this connection, the Presidium stated that the intensification of socialist democracy, a further increase in the role of the law, and the progress of legality in the life of society are inseparable elements of restructuring and at the same time are the conditions for its success. Intensifying the rights and freedoms of citizens, while concurrently enhancing discipline, morality, and responsibility, is one of the fundamental political and legal requirements. At the same time, the role of the court is increasing as one of the main guarantors of the defense of citizens’ rights and freedoms and of the fulfillment of their obligations toward society.

The Presidium discussed the principles for the legal review of the management of enterprises’ social needs which, under the new conditions of the reconstruction of the economic mechanism, regulates the means of creating funds for cultural and social needs as well as for their use. The new method will resolve the share of the state budget and the participation of national committees and enterprises in financing social consumption.

It made note of a report on the result of a discussion in the CSSR Government on the bill on state budget levies and the bill on income tax.

It made note of and agreed with a report on the course and results of the friendly visit made by Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, to the Romanian Socialist Republic on 5-6 September.

It made note of and agreed with a report on the working visit made by Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, to the Soviet Union, the Romanian Socialist Republic, and the German Democratic Republic.

It approved Miroslav Chvojka, long-time manager of the RUDE PRAVO Printing Works, for the post of director general of the CPCZ Printing Enterprises.

Adamec Interviewed on Ecological Engineering

*LD1709224689 Prague Television Service
in Czech 1730 GMT 17 Sep 89*

[Interview with Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier and CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, by correspondent Rudolf Erhart at the international engineering trade fair in Brno on 17 September; recorded—no video available]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Erhart] Comrade Premier, what is your opinion of the standard of Czechoslovak engineering products compared with those brought to Brno by foreign exhibitors?

[Adamec] I have a feeling that in a number of branches things have moved forward. In the sphere of engineering for ecological projects, for example, I am sincerely pleased that the matter is being tackled. We, as the government, will have to help them, naturally, as these are the very first beginnings and they unfortunately cannot manage everything themselves. It is good that we are aware of the fact that the existing range of engineering products is not possible for the future. Our directors have realized this and they are changing the situation on the whole. In a number of branches we are moving forward somewhat. Naturally the backwardness, if compared with the capitalist states, is still quite considerable. But I am an optimist and I have been able to confirm that enterprises which have embarked on independence in their activities are getting used to it very fast. They have also established cooperative relations with other countries and among themselves and I am convinced that this will be beneficial and that we will see the fruit soon.

[Erhart] I believe that visitors to the trade fair can become convinced in a number of specific instances that our designers and producers do not have problems with developing and build an interesting, useful and good-quality machine. What, in your view, is preventing them from utilizing this effectively in foreign trade?

[Adamec] I think that we still meet a kind of stereotype that we do not have sufficient vacant capacities where we could start the production of new products. I have encountered the following case. It is possible to say frankly that 15 years ago Czechoslovakia held the prime position in the world textile engineering. Although our prime position has somewhat declined and we have even lost it in some aspect, it is gratifying that we have been regaining it lately. Senior directors have asked for the

government to provide a plant which would employ between 4,000-6,000 people, which would enable them to start the production of such new engineering products. We will examine this request and do our utmost to ensure that such textile machinery is available for export.

And the second problem is how we are selling. We have to learn about the market, we have to know it. We do not know it. We have often relied on coefficients, limits, and when the limits were fulfilled then we were satisfied that foreign trade was good. But today we have to work in a different way. And this is because if factories, if they can sell well, if their products are in demand, they will receive earnings and they have to realize this because next year the government will end a grants policy and factories will have to stand on their own feet.

[Erhart] Comrade Prime Minister you have touched briefly on ecological engineering. Do you think that the activity of our manufacturers in this area is sufficient in view of demands on the protections and shaping of the environment in Czechoslovakia?

[Adamec] We already have the knowledge in Czechoslovakia of how to clean water. We possess the knowledge to clean all types of polluted water. The question however is whether we have enough initiative and courage to tackle these matters. It is not only the polluters but the whole area of local government bodies who know very little about this problem. I make the pledge that next year we will make use of all these enormous resources we possess for ecological purposes. And we regret that they have not been used previously on tackling water pollution.

The second matter is what to do with air pollution. The matter here is of course complicated. We cannot of course tackle the pollution caused by power plants by buying enormously expensive equipment, which unfortunately is available only on Western markets and which is not capable of operating over a long period of time. We have to tackle the matter in a different way by curbing coal mining and by curbing the burning of low quality coal.

Zavadil Speech at 12 Sep TU Meeting

*AU1809103989 Prague PRACE in Czech
13 Sep 89 pp 3, 4*

["From" a speech by Miroslav Zavadil, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, at a joint meeting of the Presidiums of the Central, Czech, and Slovak Trade Union Councils held in Prague on 12 September]

[Excerpts] The aim of today's joint meeting of the Presidiums of the Central Trade Union Council and the Czech and Slovak Trade Union Councils is to assess the present state of and exchange experiences from the implementation of the conclusions of the National All-Trade Union Conference [held in September 1988] and, in particular, to unite the further course of action in the interest of their more consistent fulfillment.

At the National All-Trade Union Conference we quite unequivocally endorsed the policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] and the conclusions of the seventh session of its Central Committee, which—inspired by the approach of Soviet Communists—formulated the content of our restructuring, in harmony with Czechoslovak conditions and possibilities, and the needs of further socialist development. Developments have confirmed the need for and the correctness of these conclusions.

We also avow our support for this political line today. In the restructuring and democratization of society we see the further development of socialism, its improvement, and greater efficiency. [passage omitted]

The CPCZ gave our nations and all working people a program that has brought about an unprecedented development of the country and of society's material and spiritual values. Its policy serves the interests of the people, it outlines the prospects for the further development of our republic. There is no reason to renounce the past. This is also why, speaking in the name of the absolute majority of members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH], we express our disagreement with individuals and groups which, with remarkable support from abroad, are trying to disrupt peace and order and seek the disintegration of socialism. Our program is the development of socialism and not the vacating of positions to its enemies.

We attentively follow domestic political developments and, in particular, the present work of trade unions in socialist countries. [passage omitted]

As for our immediate neighbors, Poland and Hungary, we are interested in the further development of the traditionally good relations in the spirit of fraternal cooperation, for the benefit of the workers class and all working people. In this sense, we express our solidarity with and support for all those in these two countries who are striving for the preservation and further development of socialism. It is our sincere wish that forces that are loyal to the ideas of socialism may be successful in defending the supreme principles of the activity of socialist trade unions.

Many ROH functionaries and members are asking what is and will be our attitude toward and relationship with Polish Solidarity. It is evident from what we know that, by its present nature, Solidarity definitely is more of a political party than a trade union organization. In fact, its position in the sociopolitical structure also corresponds to this.

One also cannot ignore the fact that its representatives are expressing, mildly speaking, peculiar views about the country's future path, including remarks about "the country's path from socialism to capitalism." To tell the truth, all this does not meet with a favorable response on our part. However, this is a matter for the Polish people.

To sum up: Our attitude to Solidarity is based on the aforementioned realities. Only further developments will shape our attitude to this group. As for the Polish National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ], we are linked with it by close ties of cooperation. We will continue to comprehensively promote these ties. We express full solidarity and support for the comrades from the OPZZ.

The development of events in the Hungarian People's Republic—which, as is known, according to a submitted proposal should be renamed the Hungarian Republic—is also remarkable. Some expressions directed against Czechoslovakia in the Hungarian media worry us. One can only describe them as an endeavor to interfere in our internal affairs. Nonetheless, we believe that such extremes should not overshadow the traditional, comradely relations, in which cooperation between the trade unions occupied and still occupies an important place. We are convinced that, building up on ROH's traditionally good cooperation with the Hungarian trade union organization, it is possible to achieve positive new results benefiting restructuring and the interests of the working people. [passage omitted]

All internal and international connections confirm that our National All-Trade Union Conference was of undeniable importance. It gave a specific reply to the question about the place of Czechoslovak trade unions in the present stage of socialist construction, in implementing the policy of restructuring. Its course and results strengthened the authority of the united trade union organization, boosted the self-confidence of functionaries, and reinforced the members' attachment to the organization.

The seminal importance of the conference lies in the fact that, in the spirit of the conclusions of the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee, it expressed a new orientation of the content of ROH activity. It laid down that the basic task of trade unions in this period is primarily to defend the rights and enforce the justified demands and interests of its members. This concept is fully in harmony with the Leninist mission of trade unions under socialism. We consider it correct, and the conference affirmed this, that each specific period must respect the given conditions and needs, and that individual aspects of trade union activity must be accentuated accordingly.

At the same time, as the conference stressed, the new concept must consistently follow up on everything that was positive in the past, maintain continuity, and not lapse into a sweeping negation of everything and everyone—despite possible reservations about and criticism of the past, even as far as the activity of trade unions is concerned. [passage omitted]

The trade union organizations are right to devote special attention to the economic reform, to the introduction of the rules of the new economic mechanism into practice. Often a fundamental question is being raised—whether

this process proceeds with the required pace and dynamism, whether substantive problems are being successfully tackled, whether prerequisites are being created for the further effective and intensive development of the national economy.

First of all, we cannot fail to see that questions are being asked among workers about the contribution of restructuring. Various views are being expressed, often critical ones, but most of them are motivated by interest in restructuring and support for it. On the other hand, some unrealistic ideas are being raised, ideas that everything should be resolved at once. There are many discussions among the working people about the level of meeting vital needs. Specific remarks with regard to the internal market, the provision of services, health care, transportation, and housing policy linger on. It needs to be said that, despite certain progress made in this regard, these critical voices are warranted. [passage omitted]

Particularly acute are the demands coming from the labor collectives of state enterprises that their founders help them more effectively and, in general, that they display greater initiative. This is quite understandable—the new conditions give rise to a number of new and complex problems, and help, advice, and experience are essential. We are appealing to the CSSR Government and to the Czech Socialist Republic and Slovak Socialist Republic Governments to take the appropriate measures in this regard. [passage omitted]

There is no reason to hide the fact that there exist certain doubts and divergent views on some paragraphs of the law on state enterprises, especially with regard to the election of directors. I believe that these judgments are premature, that there is no need for rash evaluations. Yet it is true that at a number of places almost inordinate attention was devoted to the preparation and course of elections of enterprise directors, at the expense of attendance to the fulfillment of the state plan, and that it swallowed a lot of money and time. [passage omitted]

The national conference subjected to sharp criticism the unsatisfactory situation in transportation to and from work. There has been some improvement in the situation, thanks to the attention which the Central, Czech, and Slovak Trade Union Councils, the federal and the republican governments have been jointly paying to the problem. Local transportation enterprises, in particular, have received a larger number of buses, a greater quantity of spare parts, and so forth than in the past. [passage omitted] Nonetheless, the situation continues to be highly disconcerting and we will continue to have this task on record as unfulfilled.

The conference also delivered a critical opinion on the situation on the domestic market. Despite a number of measures adopted this past year, no substantial changes have taken place. Private consumption has grown but the degree of satisfaction of the population has not increased. We trust that the part of Federal Premier Comrade Adamec's policy statement, in which he said

that we can and must change this situation in the course of 2 to 3 years, will be fulfilled.

As a measure against inflation, we have endorsed the CSSR Government decision on wage regulation, which we perceive as necessary to prevent an unrestrained development of wages. However, it is not a solution that ensures that sought-after merchandise is available in sufficient quantities on the market. [passage omitted]

Another problem to which the National All-Trade Union Conference openly directed attention were the hidden, but sometimes also overt and even speculative, increases in the prices of products and goods. Regrettably, these endeavors continue. There are enterprises which raise prices by their very strange approach to innovation, enterprises which limit production in lower price categories, and enterprises which demand price concessions by threatening not to deliver materials or intermediate products. There are enterprises that demand that they be paid in foreign exchange. These outrageous phenomena are even augmented by the existence and unpropitious influence of monopoly manufacturers.

Many comments concern the high prices of footwear and textiles for children. The available quantity, too, is not always sufficient. What can one say when, for instance, the Severka Cvikov state enterprise, a manufacturer of quality ready-made garments for children, diverts abroad some of its output that was originally destined for the home market? One of the main reasons are inordinate prices, which make our retailing organizations reduce their orders. [passage omitted]

Unfounded price increases are the target of the working people's justified criticism and discontent. We are therefore appealing to the CSSR Government to enforce, through the medium of the relevant bodies, its influence on manufacturers and stop this socially dangerous development. [passage omitted]

Recently, our public has been upset by the irresponsible statements of some forecasters concerning structural changes in the national economy in the Ninth 5-Year Plan and in the long term. Yes, at the national conference we voiced our support for structural changes. Without them, it is impossible to achieve the necessary development of the national economy and to substantially raise its performance. However, a different matter is the fact that, on the basis of various fabrications and half-truths, legends spread as if an assault were now being conducted against heavy industry and as if the whole period of industrialization were negated. None of this is true.

As trade union bodies and functionaries, we must take an interest in, above all, the social aspect of the contemplated changes, which will influence the way of life of many working people and their families. These questions must be dealt with in due course, carefully, and with sensitivity toward each individual concerned. This is also why the Central Trade Union Council recently expressed full support for the standpoint of the Central

Committee of the Trade Union of Miners and Power Industry Workers on the transfer of workers from the uranium industry to other workplaces. [passage omitted]

It needs to be said that, since the National All-Trade Union Conference, nothing at all has changed with regard to the production of protective work equipment. The relevant ministries, production cooperatives, and "Rempo" enterprises still maintain their calm, which apparently cannot be disturbed by anything and anyone, and keep producing what suits them, which is mostly at variance with the interests and needs of the working people. The work of Central, Czech, and Slovak Trade Union Council bodies is utterly unsuccessful in this regard. By the end of 1989, we will submit to the CSSR Government a proposal on how to jointly tackle this situation. [passage omitted]

Since the national conference, the view has strengthened in many trade union organizations and labor collectives that much more should be done in our society to foster respect for honest work and the observance of laws. Many instances of speculation, cheating of customers, and stealing from the state are being tolerated at a number of workplaces. The sanctions being imposed are inadequate and not commensurate with the damage caused. We see around us quite a number of people who excel neither in industry nor in qualifications, and who are very well off. These and similar phenomena seriously disrupt the trust of honest citizens in social justice and socialist rule of law.

In reply to the demand which was expressed at the ninth session of the CPCZ Central Committee and unanimously supported by delegates to the National All-Trade Union Conference that a law be drawn up which would introduce the obligation to prove the source of property acquired from disproportionate income, Federal Minister Comrade Calfa said more or less that the existing legal provisions make it possible to deal with such situations. This standpoint is unacceptable. We are of the opinion that it is essential to adopt and consistently apply measures that would change the existing state of affairs.

Of late, trade union organizations have been raising the demand that the relevant bodies reconsider the decision to introduce foreign exchange accounts for Czechoslovak nationals. They are asking whether the financial contribution is commensurate with the political and moral impact. They are drawing attention to the Czechoslovak currency's declining value and to the preferment of a narrow group of citizens, not many of whom are among the advocates of socialism.

Let me mention two more suggestions raised at the National All-Trade Union Conference:

- The conference voiced the demand that our organization should have the right to initiate new legislation. This suggestion has been passed on to the commission for the preparation of a new CSSR Constitution.

- At a recent session, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium made use of the suggestion of the National All-Trade Union Conference and decided to apply the principle that state awards should be bestowed, first and foremost, for extraordinary work results, for specific contributions to socialist society. [passage omitted]

The restructuring of society naturally also requires restructuring in the trade union organization, changes in the content of its activity and in the methods and style of its work. The purpose of these changes, as was stressed at the conference, is to increase the effectiveness of the trade union organization and its ability to take action. The way to achieve this is through the further development of internal trade union democracy, through deepening the specifics and enhancing the independence and responsibility of trade union bodies and organizations. We have decided to streamline the trade union structure. I would like to point out that this was not a fortuitous action. It was preceded by wide-ranging discussions.

Effective from 1 January 1989, one central committee and 10 republican committees of individual trade unions were abolished. In the course of this year, the regional committees of six trade unions will wind down their activity, which will reduce the number of regional trade union committees from 203 to 132. The streamlining of the regional apparatus of the other trade unions will continue. The district committees of 11 trade unions will also be abolished this year, which will reduce the number of district trade union committees from 877 to 410.

In financial terms, the termination of activity of the aforementioned trade union bodies represents a Kcs36 million reduction of costs. The rationalization of the apparatus of the Central Trade Union Council and of the Slovak Trade Union Council and of their establishments will represent an additional Kcs12 million of cost reductions.

The rationalization of the trade union structure is not an end in itself, but a means of increasing the effectiveness of trade union work. It has its point of departure in the general process of democratization in our society. Unless this rationalization is accompanied by changed approaches, by changes in the division of labor and in the style and methods of work, and unless it promotes the creativity and potentials of the new structures, we cannot regard it as completed. [passage omitted]

The national conference also adopted some other recommendations for changes in internal trade union life. How have they been or how will they be used? The proposal to limit the tenure of holders of trade union functions will be used in connection with the drafting of proposal for the 12th All-Trade Union Congress. The same procedure will be applied with respect to the proposal to enable the direct election of the chairman at the primary organization's members meeting or conference. The proposal to enable the election of committee members or of the primary organization's chairman from several candidates has found its application in the resolution of the

Central Trade Union Council Presidium on the upcoming members meetings and conferences. The eighth Central Trade Union Council plenary meeting decided to increase the proportion of membership dues allocated to primary organizations from the present 50 percent to 55 percent. [passage omitted]

In its programmatic aims, the National All-Trade Union Conference unequivocally avowed its allegiance to the Leninist concept of the work of trade unions under socialism. It confirmed that, through their entire activity, Czechoslovak trade unions will strive to become a genuine school of management, the conducting of economic affairs, and socialist self-administration. In the present conditions, their role as the school of the protection of the legitimate rights and justified demands and interests of the working people assumes priority. [passage omitted]

The period we are entering will be significantly influenced by preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress. We highly assess the initiatives of miners, metallurgists, textile workers, and employees of other branches who have adopted valuable socialist pledges in its honor. It is in the interest of our organization and of all working people that these initiatives be emulated.

Let us see to it that by consistently implementing the conclusions of the National All-Trade Union Conference we contribute even more to reinforcing the authority and revolutionary mission of the united trade unions in our socialist society!

Vaclavik Issues Air Force Order of Day

*AU2009092389 Bratislava PRAVDA
in Slovak 16 Sep 89 p 2*

[CTK report: "On Czechoslovak Air Force Day"]

[Text] Prague—Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, has issued an order of the day on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of Czechoslovak Air Force Day. Among other things, it contains the following: This significant jubilee, which is an inseparable element of the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising and the Carpathian-Dukla operation, is celebrated by our working people and, along with them, members of the Czechoslovak People's Army as Czechoslovak Air Force Day. This day is also a holiday for employees in the Czechoslovak aircraft industry who, via their everyday concentrated and selfless work, strive for the thorough fulfillment of the tasks laid down by the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and thus help to create conditions for the air force's activity.

Border Troops Reportedly Attacked From FRG

*LD1909141889 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1343 GMT 19 Sep 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—There was a provocative attack on the GDR state border on the evening of 17 September in the Cebisfelde section of Magdeburg bezirk [area]. An unidentified man fired several times from FRG territory at GDR border troops and at border security installations. The lives of the border guards on duty were thereby put at serious risk and damage was caused to border security installations.

The GDR's permanent mission in the FRG has lodged the strongest protest with the FRG Federal Chancellor's Office against this seriously provocative attack, and has demanded that the Federal Government take immediate measures to put an end to this kind of criminal attack.

FRG Delegation Visits, Condemns Campaign

*AU2009082989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 15 Sep 89 p 5*

[ADN report: "Working Meeting between FDJ and SDAJ"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Thursday [14 September] a delegation of the Federal Working Committee of the Socialist German Workers Youth (SDAJ), headed by its Chairman, Patrik Koebele, met with the Secretariat of the Central Council of the Free German Youth [FDJ] in Berlin. Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the Central Council, reported on the activities of the youth association in preparation of the 40th anniversary of the GDR and the 12th congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Patrik Koebele referred to the joint responsibility for peace of the two German states, as noted in the Joint Statement during Erich Honecker's visit to the FRG in 1987.

Eberhard Aurich and Patrik Koebele condemned the unrestrained malicious campaign of the FRG media and the FRG Government against the GDR. These developments show the necessity of broad democratic action by all progressive forces in the FRG against the ultrareactionaries, they said.

Delegation Head Discusses Belgrade Summit

*AU2009074689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 16-17 Sep 89 p 6*

[Unattributed interview with GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Heinz-Dieter Winter, who headed the GDR delegation to the Ninth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned Movement in Belgrade: "Worldwide Movement Faces New Challenges"; date and place not given]

[Text] Question: How do you assess the results of the Ninth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned Movement?

Answer: This important conference of a movement which comprises 102 states certainly needs a thorough comprehensive analysis, which corresponds to the international political importance of the event. More than 80 states delivered declarations of principle, extraordinarily substantive documents, declarations of principle that set down the main directions of future work, and more than 40 no less significant resolutions on political and economic issues were adopted.

Energetic Call for Disarmament

As head of the GDR's guest delegation, I got the direct impression that the movement, which was founded almost 3 decades ago, is also an independent and influential factor under today's international conditions. It has an essential, positive effect on the international atmosphere. The results of Belgrade show that, in preserving its traditions and its founding principles, the movement is willing to face the new challenges in the fields of peace, disarmament, overcoming underdevelopment, the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts and, not least, in questions of the ecological threat to our planet.

Thus, the nonaligned states are turning more intensively toward questions that concern all of mankind and touch upon the vital interests of all states. This particularly applies to the demand made in Belgrade that the process of disarmament, in particular as regards the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, has to be continued energetically. The GDR, together with the other Warsaw Pact states, also advocates this.

The member states of the movement have made it clear that international security and equal cooperation are incompatible with continued colonial exploitation, aggression, intervention, and interference. The topicality of this statement was emphatically stressed by representatives of African, Arab, and Latin American states.

The decisions of the conference are expected to provide new stimuli for the establishment of equal international economic relations. It is worth noting the statement that the human rights that are often quoted by some circles have to start with the establishment of conditions which include the right to life, sufficient food, clothing, health care, and education, and which rule out any racial and other forms of discrimination.

Question: What importance do we accord to this movement in current international politics?

Answer: In short, one may say, very high importance. In more detail, one has to say that the active, constructive participation of the movement and its members is indispensable for the achievement of a lasting improvement of the international situation. The solution of the vital questions of our time requires the cooperation of all reasonable and realistic forces. Nuclear and conventional disarmament—it was stressed in Belgrade—cannot be enforced if all international forces do not participate in it.

Nonaligned states have developed into influential participants in shaping international political and economic relations.

Urgent Social and Economic Questions Await a Solution

At the same time, in Asia, Africa, and Latin America urgent social and economic questions await a solution. As an independent factor in world politics, the movement collectively expresses the interests of the affected peoples and actively supports them in all international bodies. It offers itself as an active partner for dialogue.

The GDR and the other socialist states have always noted many concurrent standpoints between them and the nonaligned states on the main issues. This is also expressed in the greetings message from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the ninth summit of the non-aligned states. The important role of these states in the international arena is also demonstrated by the fact that the conference met with broad international attention.

Question: International economic questions played an important role at the summit. Can you tell us something more about this?

Answer: The economic situation of many developing countries, in particular the misery of large parts of the population in the countries that have been categorized by the United Nations as the least developed countries, is currently further worsening. Therefore, it is all too understandable that calls for equal international economic relations, for the elimination of protectionist barriers by the capitalist industrial states, for solutions to the debt crisis, and for just conditions of exchange in world trade were made quite emphatically at this summit. A constructive and productive international dialogue on a broad basis is striven for in these issues.

For Fewer Weapons and More Development

At the same time, one is aware that the acute problems of many developing countries could be brought closer to a solution if the disarmament process—as the Warsaw Pact states also demand—is steadily continued and a qualitatively new arms race is prevented. This is the only way in which the principle of disarmament for development, which was repeatedly stressed in Belgrade, can be made effective.

Question: How was the participation of the GDR accepted at the Belgrade summit?

Answer: In many talks the first participation of the GDR as a guest at a nonaligned summit was welcomed. It is considered a logical consequence of our peace-loving foreign policy that is oriented toward dialogue and cooperation.

Yugoslavia, a country with which the GDR has long had friendly relations, took the chair, a country in which the

movement was founded. The SFRY was—and I felt this continuously—a good and attentive host and established excellent conditions for the success of the conference.

Arms Talks Envoy Discusses Requirements

AU2009085689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Sep 89 p 7

[ADN report: "Speedy Conclusion of Agreement Requires Political Will of All"]

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—Much work, political will, readiness for compromise, and the renunciation of striving for one-sided advantages are necessary to achieve success at the Vienna negotiations on conventional forces in Europe next year. This was stated by Ambassador Klaus-Dieter Ernst, head of the GDR delegation, at the plenary session of the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO states in the Vienna Hofburg Conference Center.

The proposals that have so far been presented by the socialist countries prove that the Warsaw Pact is not only willing to drastically reduce armaments and troop strengths, but will also thoroughly restructure the remaining potentials. "The determination to give our own Armed Forces an even more markedly defensive character is demonstrated by our unilateral reduction measures," the GDR representative said. One important thing for the negotiations is the insight that has been gained in this process that the destruction of heavy combat equipment and the demobilization of armed forces will be a complicated, labor-intensive, and—in view of the intended scope—protracted process. The solution of the resulting technical and social problems is a great challenge.

At the plenary session, Ambassador Ernst referred to the declared willingness of both sides to come to an agreement in Vienna by 1990 if possible. However, sometimes one gets "the impression that even though some people on the NATO side are very industriously pondering how their own military machinery might emerge from these negotiations with as few reductions as possible, they are thinking far less of their own disarmament contribution." Therefore, clear answers are necessary about the consequences that a future agreement will have for the current military potentials, planning, and practices of the North Atlantic alliance, Ambassador Ernst noted.

SED's Hager Meets Hungarian Party Official

LD1309185189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1658 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Kurt Hager, Politburo member and Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee secretary, received Maria Ormos, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Executive Political Committee and rector of the 'Janus Pannonius' University in Pecs, in Berlin today. Maria Ormos conveyed cordial greetings and wishes for a good recovery from MSZMP Chairman Rezo Nyers, to SED

Central Committee General Secretary and GDR Council of State Chairman Erich Honecker. Kurt Hager reciprocated with thanks on behalf of Erich Honecker.

During the meeting, which took place in a businesslike and frank atmosphere, questions of social development in the two countries and of further cooperation between the two parties and between the GDR and the Hungarian People's Republic were discussed.

Kurt Hager outlined preparations for the 40th anniversary of the GDR, which will take place against the background of the working people's solidarity with their socialist fatherland, which will be expressed in innumerable initiatives in town and country for further strengthening socialism. The SED is preparing for its 12th congress in May 1990. It will steadfastly carry out its leading role and continue its policy aimed at the people's welfare and the preservation of peace in alliance with friendly parties and mass organizations. This course, marked by the unity of economic and social policy, by continuity and renewal, also continues to guarantee the GDR's development as a stable factor for peace and socialism in central Europe.

Turning to recent international issues, Kurt Hager described the campaign of slander against the GDR provoked by certain circles in the FRG as devoid of all common sense or a realistic assessment of the situation. The disregard for the sovereignty of the GDR and its laws under the pretext of the FRG assuming a "caring duty" for all Germans is a stark contravention of international law and responsible implementation of the CSCE Helsinki Act in its entirety. The FRG must respect the sovereignty of the GDR, respect its citizenship, and refrain from all interference in the GDR's internal affairs if it wants to contribute to the establishment of preconditions for good-neighborly relations in a peaceful European home.

Maria Ormas explained MSZMP activities in preparation for its party congress, which will open in Budapest on 6 October. She explained how solutions were being sought in the party and in society for the problems existing in the Hungarian People's Republic. The MSZMP was paying particular attention to the close link between economic reform and the development of democracy.

The two partners in the talk reaffirmed the usefulness of the exchange of views between the two parties and stressed the need to cooperate in future for their peoples' well-being.

Taking part in the talk were SED Central Committee members Otto Reinhold, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences, and Gunter Sieber, director of the International Relations Department, as well as ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to the GDR, Erno Lakatos.

Austria's Vranitzky Praises Bilateral Relations

AU1909135289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16-17 Sep 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Chancellor Vranitzky: Relations Between Austria and the GDR Are Exemplary"]

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the GDR, leading representatives of Austrian politics and the economy have paid tribute to the successful development of bilateral relations and have advocated their further development. In a special issue of the magazine of the Austria-GDR Society, Chancellor Franz Vranitzky noted in particular that in today's time of a new start and of detente in East-West relations, the varied contacts between the two countries are pioneering. They further cultivate the spirit of the CSCE Final Act, which has influenced the European balance in such a lastingly positive way. This policy of constructive cooperation is exemplary as a stable factor in central Europe, the chancellor stated. Far-reaching contacts have developed on the basis of mutual trust. This also applies to the fruitful personal meetings at the highest level. He likes to remember his visit to the GDR in June 1988, in this way.

Franz Vranitzky stressed that Austria and the GDR will continue to intensify their trade relations and will remain important trading partners for each other. The skeleton economic agreement, which was signed in October 1988, also contributes to this.

As focal issues for 1989 the head of government cited the expansion of scientific-technological relations between Austrian industry and GDR foreign trade enterprises and combines, the deepening of cooperation on third markets, particularly concerning metallurgical and chemical products, as well as declarations of intent on mutual goods deliveries.

In his greetings message, Rudolf Sallinger, president of the Austrian Federal Economic Chamber, refers to the special quality of bilateral economic relations. "The fact that the GDR is among the most important industrial countries of the world," he writes, "is a reason for me and for the Austrian economy to have positive expectations for the future."

Deng Xiaoping Thanks Honecker for Cable

AU2009082689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Sep 89 p 1

[ND report: "Close Fraternal Relations Between GDR and PRC"]

[Text] East Berlin—Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee and chairman of the Central Military Commission of the PRC, has sent the following greetings message to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council:

I would like to express my sincere thanks for the congratulations on my 85th birthday.

I am deeply convinced that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two parties, states, and peoples will continue to be consolidated and developed. This will serve the common cause of the building of socialism in China and in the GDR, as well as the protection of world peace.

I wholeheartedly wish you good health and long life, as well as much strength and further great successes in your important work of leading the building of socialism in the GDR and for the prospering of your country.

Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee and chairman of the Central Military Commission of the PRC.

PRC Ambassador Praises Cooperation Effort

*AU2009080689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 16-17 Sep 89 p 1*

[ADN report: "Lasting Friendship and Cooperation with the GDR"]

[Text] East Berlin—On the occasion of the forthcoming 40th anniversary of the founding of the PRC on 1 October, Zhang Dake, PRC ambassador, extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR, addressed students and teaching staff at the "Karl Marx" Party College attached to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee.

In his talk, the ambassador paid tribute to the founding of the PRC and its achievements under the leadership of the CPC during the past 4 decades. He gave a detailed account of the developments since the 1978 Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee and the successes achieved in constructing socialism of the Chinese type. Zhang Dake spoke at length on the long-standing relations that are rich in revolutionary traditions between the SED and the CPC, and the PRC and the GDR. He referred to Erich Honecker's visit in 1986, which characterizes the fact that the development of relations between both parties and peoples has reached a new stage.

"The CPC and the PRC Government pay great attention to the relations between the PRC and the GDR," the ambassador said. It is the firm course of the party and its country to develop relations of friendship and cooperation in a comprehensive, stable, and lasting way. "The SED, the GDR Government and the People's Chamber have offered our country support and solidarity in quelling the counterrevolutionary putsch in Beijing," the PRC official stressed. Zhang Dake said: "We are firmly convinced that the relations of friendship and cooperation, which are based on mutual respect, mutual understanding, and mutual trust with equal rights, as well as mutual benefit correspond to the basic interests of the peoples of both countries. In the 40th year of the

founding of the PRC we are convinced more than ever before that the future is ours," he stressed. "To ensure this, we will work together with all our strength in the socialist construction."

The rector of the Karl Marx Party College, Tiedke, cordially expressed his thanks to the guest for the lecture which had been followed with great interest. The relations of friendship and cooperation between the two parties, states, and peoples will continue to consolidate and develop, he said. As is expressed in the greetings message of Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee and chairman of the PRC Central Military Commission, to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, this will serve the construction of socialism in both countries, as well as the protection of world peace. It is very valuable that cooperation between social scientists of the Karl Marx Party College attached to the SED Central Committee, and the CPC party college has developed so constructively, as was clearly shown at the bilateral colloquy on the 40th anniversary of the founding of both states in May this year.

After the lecture, there was a showing of a new documentary movie on current CPC policy.

DPRK Telecommunications Minister Visits

*AU1809162589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 14 Sep 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "DPRK Telecommunications Minister Received in Berlin"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday [13 September] Rudolph Schulze, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of posts and telecommunications, received Kim Chan-ho, DPRK minister of post and telecommunications, for a friendly talk in Berlin. They discussed the steady development of bilateral relations between the two communications administrations and questions of the directions of scientific-technological development in the posts and telecommunications sector.

Ambassador Presents Credentials to 'Arafat

*AU2009075389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 16-17 Sep 89 p 5*

[ADN report: "GDR Ambassador Presented Credentials to Yasir 'Arafat"]

[Text] Tunis (ADN)—On Friday [15 September] Yasir 'Arafat, president of the State of Palestine and chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, received GDR Ambassador Manfred Stantke for the presentation of his credentials in Tunis. Ambassador Stantke conveyed cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of

Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, which were returned in kind.

In the subsequent talk, Yasir Arafat paid tribute to the firm solidarity of the GDR at the side of the Palestinian people in their just struggle for the implementation of their legitimate national rights. Accrediting a GDR ambassador to the State of Palestine is the expression of a qualitatively new stage of close friendly cooperation. Both sides expressed the conviction that the long-standing fruitful cooperation between the GDR and the PLO is a solid basis for the development of state relations and advocated their purposeful development.

New Berlin Bishop Sends Message to Honecker

AU1909145589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 16-17 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "For Constructive Relations Between the Catholic Church and the State"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Georg Sterzinsky, bishop of Berlin, has sent the following message to GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker:

Dear Mr Chairman:

You sent me cordial congratulations on my taking over the office of bishop of Berlin. I thank you for this and, at the same time, I convey to you my good wishes for your personal well-being and good health.

As bishop of Berlin I am pledged to the work of my predecessors, in particular of Cardinals Bengsch and Meisner. In loyalty to the Catholic Church and with a realistic view for reality, I see the fundamental basis for my work as bishop in the entire Episcopate of Berlin. However, I also see this as the decisive precondition for a constructive shaping of the relations between the Catholic Church and the state in the GDR.

Yours sincerely,

Georg Sterzinsky

Bishop of Berlin.

Evangelical Church Synod Meeting in Eisenach

AU1909145189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 16-17 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Meeting of the Synod of the GDR Federation of Evangelical Churches"]

[Text] Eisenach (ADN)—From Friday to Tuesday [15-19 September] the fifth synod of the GDR's Federation of Evangelical Churches will hold its fifth meeting in Eisenach. The topic of the 5-day meeting is the synod's work for justice, peace, and the preservation of Creation. The synod members of the eight regional churches thus evaluate the results of the Ecumenical meeting in the GDR and the European Ecumenical meeting in Basel, which were dedicated to this topic. Furthermore, reports

from the Conference of Evangelical Church Leaderships, the Diakonische Werk charitable organization, and the Secretariat of the Federation are on the agenda of the conference.

Synod Asks 'Variety of Parties'

LD1909223989 Hamburg DPA in German
1432 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Eisenach (DPA)—A federation synod of the evangelical churches in the GDR spoke out for the first time in favor of a "democratic variety of parties" in the GDR. This desire is contained in a catalogue of reforms and demands which was adopted on Tuesday in Eisenach at the conclusion of the 5-day synod.

Against the background of the "mass emigration" of GDR citizens and the atmosphere in the country, the church parliament commits itself to an "open and public discussion of our social problems." "An opening of the present political structures" is also part of such a dialogue. The synod members support "freedom to travel for all citizens," the possibility of peaceful demonstrations, and "an election procedure which enables a choice between programs and people, and economic reforms."

The resolution, which passed with only one vote against, stresses "that many hopes for change in the GDR have been extinguished." The reasons given for this are the vain wait for "long overdue reforms," indications of "clear improprieties in the carrying out of the election on 7 May, and the announcement of the result," and violent action by the security forces against nonviolent demonstrations of young people. Defects in the economy and the environment are also making life increasingly more difficult. Everyday life and the media's reporting on it are widely divergent.

The synod also regretted the most recent cancellation of talks between representatives of both German states and spoke in favor of a dialogue between Bonn and East Berlin. With a view to statements by Bonn politicians, the resolution says: "Desires for reunification awaken anxieties in the peoples."

Clergyman Urges Open Discussion in GDR

LD2009083789 Hamburg DPA in German
0643 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The Constitutional President of the Berlin-Brandenburg Church, Manfred Stolpe, has spoken out in favor of an open discussion of the internal affairs of the GDR.

In an interview with the Berlin radio station RIAS [Radio in the American Sector], Stolpe said today that current problems included "how to achieve an effective process of democratization, how to strengthen legal security, and the true meaning and intentions of the concept of socialism." Consideration must also be given to the means of creating an efficient economy in the GDR.

Referring to the newly formed opposition groups in the GDR, Stolpe said that they have the advantage that "they intensify the problems to be dealt with, and can thus perhaps finally inject new impetus into the existing structures." On the other hand, there is a danger that polarization will be intensified also.

The interview was transmitted to DPA from the radio station.

Authorities Take 'Tough Line' on Critics

LD1909153389 Hamburg DPA in German
1225 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (DPA)—For the first time a group of people belonging to the political opposition has applied for official recognition by the state. The initiators of the "New Forum," an umbrella movement for democratic renewal independent of church and state, applied today for permission to form an association initially in 11 of the 14 GDR areas [bezirk].

Meanwhile, the GDR authorities are continuing to take a tough line on critics. According to information reaching West Berlin, about 128 GDR citizens were still in police custody at noon today, people who had been detained the previous evening after the peace prayers in St Nicholas church in Leipzig. Some of those detained were released again, including Michael Arnold, one of the first signatories of the founding appeal by the "New Forum" opposition group. [passage omitted]

About 1,500 people had taken part in the traditional peace prayers in Leipzig. During the service, the release of at least 11 young people who have been in detention since 11 September was demanded. The police accuse them of "riotous assembly."

On Monday evening the police and members of the GDR State Security service specifically targeted active members of peace groups. Church papers were snatched away from a member of the Coordinating Circle for Detainees. Even during the service there were isolated arrests in front of the church, which was surrounded by police. After the service the crowd dispersed relatively quickly, it was said. Afterwards the crowd is reported to have streamed back to the square. There were reportedly an estimated 4,000-5,000 people. It was then that the State Security service and the police detained far more than 100 people. [passage omitted]

It was learned only today that 142 people were arrested in Leipzig on Monday of last week. Initially it was reported that some 100 had been arrested. [passage omitted]

Fischer Discusses GDR Foreign Policy

AU2009084889 East Berlin EINHEIT in German
No. 9-10/1989 [signed to press 17 Aug 89] pp 878-883

[Article by Oskar Fischer, GDR foreign minister and Central Committee member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany: "A State of Peace From the First Day"]

[Excerpts] The 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR is also a reason to look back, take stock, and look forward to the future regarding our foreign policy. The international work of the first worker-peasant state was and still is most thoroughly marked by its history. However, the question about the basic orientation of a new German foreign and security policy was not only asked on 7 October 1949 when the republic constituted itself. It had to be answered immediately as soon as fascist Germany was smashed, because the fate and the prospects of the German people depended on it. It was to be a peace-loving German state—that was the mandate given by the people and by history.

Three factors determined the development of the GDR's foreign-political strategy in particular:

It had to proceed from the working class' statement in principle in favor of peace and peaceful construction, as well as its vital interest in the prevention of any other war. For the first time in German history, those forces assumed responsibility in the state whose interests have nothing in common and can have nothing in common with the policy of war and conquest, with the subjugation and exploitation of foreign peoples, because they do not profit from armaments or wars, but on the contrary were always those who had to pay a bloody price for imperialist power policy and the imperialist policy of conquest. On the eve of the founding of our party, Wilhelm Pieck, who later was president of the GDR, corroborating the conclusion drawn from this, said "that the reconstruction of our economy, the development of a truly militant democracy, and peace cannot be guaranteed, unless they are backed by the united power of the working class."

It was necessary to learn the lessons of the fatal policy of force pursued by former German states ruled by imperialism. That held true for all areas; however, in particular for the foreign policy of a German state that was to be newly founded. The appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany [KPD] of 11 June 1945 said in this respect: "It is important now to thoroughly and lastingly learn the lessons of the past. An entirely new road must be embarked upon!"

In addition, there were the obligations imposed by the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition, which had defeated Hitler fascism at great cost and rightly demanded peace guarantees for the future, "so that Germany will never again be able to threaten its neighbors or jeopardize peace throughout the world."

All this was the basis on which the concept and conduct were formed which basically broke with the foreign

policy of all former states, definitely banned the imperialist right of war, and made peace the GDR's state doctrine ruling everything. What was and remains decisive in this respect is the fact that this political maxim has from the beginning been linked with the consequence and obligation to do everything, so that war will never again start from German soil. "German imperialism has brought the German people two world wars in one generation. That must not be repeated," said Otto Gro-tewohl in his first government statement on 12 October 1949. "All progressive forces must unite and make sure that German imperialism in its urge for conquests must never again destroy the foundations of life of the German people."

This policy was recognized because, like the newly founded state, it was supported by those who in the antifascist resistance struggle had defended and preserved the ideas of peace and international understanding. [passage omitted]

In the Warsaw Pact, the GDR has from the start had a part in the drafting of numerous common peace and disarmament initiatives in close comradeship cooperation with the USSR and the other member states. They have always given lasting impulses to the international process of detente. The encouraging results that are now being achieved in the area of disarmament would not be possible without the Warsaw Pact's realistic action.

Our membership in this alliance is one of the bases of and a support for the GDR's peace policy. The Warsaw Pact guarantees the inviolability of its members' national interests; it guarantees the reliable protection of the socialist achievements. Thus this alliance has proved to be a force that guarantees peace and security. The action laid down by the Warsaw Pact to secure the GDR's border with West Berlin in 1961 was such a measure by which peace in Europe was saved. [passage omitted]

New Tasks in the Struggle for Security and Disarmament

In our days the GDR peace policy is facing new challenges and thus new tasks—and this cannot be different in a world that is changing rapidly:

First, there are a number of beneficial changes in international relations; a change from confrontation to detente has been introduced. This naturally expands the framework of a policy that is aimed at detente and cooperation, at peace and disarmament, like the policy that is pursued by the GDR.

Second, however, there is still a strong countermovement, which emanates from those forces that do not want to move away from the old concepts of military superiority and nuclear deterrence.

Third, these forces stick, not least, to the goal of eliminating socialism. Thus, the international situation remains contradictory and complicated. These forces

bear the responsibility for the difficult course of the negotiations on arms limitation and disarmament.

All this is to be taken into account when today the priorities of action at the international level are set down. The experiences of the past years demand the continuation of the process of positive changes in the world and that it be made irreversible. In this context, practical steps of disarmament and confidence-building have priority. "It is of great international importance that in Budapest the participating states (of the Warsaw Pact—Oskar Fischer) again confirmed their determination to consistently continue their policy of peace, disarmament, and cooperation." (Footnote 9) (Joint Statement of the SED Central Committee Politburo, the State Council, and the GDR Council of Ministers on the results of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states on 7- 8 July 1989 in Bucharest; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14 July 1989, p 1)

The socialist states—and the GDR as well—have recently made enormous strides in the field of disarmament. This applies not only to the reduction of their armed forces and armaments. Equally important are the direction of the armed forces toward a clearly defensive structure, the comparison of military doctrines which was proposed to NATO, the reduction of arms production, as well as the reduction of military expenditures. All this has certainly not had a detrimental effect on East-West relation in general and on the climate of negotiations in particular.

However, as is logical, it is results that count and unilateral actions cannot become a permanent principle. It is the NATO states' turn to immediately adopt such a position and to make their own effective contribution to disarmament. The INF Treaty (Footnote 10) (See Treaty Between the USSR and the United States on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 10 December 1987, pp 3-4) demonstrates what is possible given appropriate willingness. In the future it is necessary

- to quickly continue the negotiations on halving strategic offensive weapons potentials, with a view to achieving results, so as to reduce and ban nuclear tests and to ban and eliminate chemical weapons;
- to drastically reduce the existing arsenals of conventional armaments and the armed forces in Europe under strict control, to eliminate the possibilities for surprise attacks and large-scale operations, and to work to achieve mutual inability to attack;
- to start separate negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe and to strive for results parallel to the Vienna negotiations, so that these nuclear weapons also disappear from European soil;
- to make the disarmament process comprehensive, which requires, for instance, the inclusion of the naval forces stationed in European waters in the negotiation process.

—to agree on further, new confidence-building and security measures and to extend them to all kinds of military activities.

Key questions of security and stability in Europe remain—as was stressed at the Bucharest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact States—the reduction of conventional armed forces and the reduction and subsequent elimination of tactical nuclear weapons. (Footnote 11) (see *For a Stable and Secure Europe, Free of Nuclear and Chemical Weapons, for an Essential Reduction of Armed Forces, Armaments, and Military Expenditures*; Statement by the Warsaw Pact States; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 10 July 1989, pp 1-2). At the Vienna negotiations a first agreement on equal collective thresholds for troops and the most important kinds of arms in Europe and its individual regions is on the agenda. Given a constructive approach by all, a first agreement could be reached in 1990.

Stability and security in Europe cannot be reliably guaranteed without the solution of the question of tactical nuclear weapons. The GDR is geographically exposed to these weapons and is especially threatened by this weapons category. Therefore, it especially commits itself to their reduction and their final disappearance.

For Equal Cooperation in the European Home

With the disarmament policy, complex European cooperation is increasingly gaining in importance. Situated in the center of Europe, the GDR, with its policy of dialogue and its readiness to negotiate, advocates that equal cooperation for the benefit of all will be made the decisive factor in Europe. Such activities range from the deepening of the CSCE process as a whole to the development and shaping of bilateral, economic, scientific-technological, and cultural relations between the European states, the United States, and Canada.

There is a principle for such a cooperation: It has to promote, not undermine the stability in Europe. Such a

cooperation must go beyond the systems; it could very well take place in the European home which is to be created. However, if going beyond the systems means changing them, if cooperation is abused, the stability on the continent will be endangered. The establishment of a common European home requires constructive, not destructive activities. Such a building can only be based on the foundations of the European postwar order. For the sake of peace and life in the future, what was established with difficulty in 40 years of peace—in East and West—must not be endangered.

The securing of peace is of paramount interest in the various relations between the GDR and the FRG. The two German states, which were established with different social orders on German soil more than 40 years ago, are neighbors at the dividing line between the two military groups in Europe. This is the political and geographical reality which entails difficulties, but also opens up opportunities to promote the process of disarmament and detente and to create mutually advantageous cooperation in an exposed and sensitive place. As has been proven, the GDR is always ready to use all opportunities for this. However, this requires a sense of reality on both sides, above all of the fact that the two states are independent and have to act sovereignly in the settlement of their internal and external affairs. The Basic Treaty, as well as the joint communique on the official visit by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, are the starting point and a reliable guideline for this.

The GDR has acquired a good reputation all over the world by its peace policy in the past 40 years. Being able to state this is especially important precisely in these days which bring the 50th anniversary of the start of World War II and the 75th anniversary of the start of World War I. The GDR has remained loyal to its constitutional mandate to do all it can to ensure that war will never again start from German soil. Forty years of the GDR—that is 40 years of the irrevocable reality of socialism in the heart of Europe. [passage omitted]

Szuross Comments on U.S. Talks, Aid*LD2009085289 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0600 GMT 20 Sep 89*

[Text] Matyas Szuros, who is holding negotiations in Washington, has received promises of greater U.S. economic support for Hungary. The Hungarian National Assembly speaker's most important negotiation partner yesterday was National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, who spoke about the possibility of the U.S. administration granting government guarantees for private investment in Hungary; he also received with understanding Hungary's request for an easing of the bans of the COCOM [Coordinating Committee for East-West Trade Policy] list.

Matyas Szuros told our correspondent Gyorgy Bolgar that the Americans do not tie their support to conditions; for example, they do not wait for the holding of elections and the forming of the new government. The National Assembly speaker also said that Hungary had to turn to U.S. and West European help because the socialist countries and the Soviet Union cannot provide us with such support.

Rumors of Armed Conflict With Romania 'Unfounded'*LD1909130789 Budapest MTI in English
1203 GMT 19 Sep 89*

[Text] Budapest, September 19 (MTI)—The starting point for the long-term development of the Hungarian People's Army is based on the assumption that national interests, independence and sovereignty can only be guaranteed by an army smaller in number and means, but more up-to-date in spirit and preparedness. The current state of the Hungarian People's Army is characterized by gradual elimination. A further drastic cut in subsidies would be tantamount to the destruction of military force and would in no way support the reform of the military. Colonel-General Jozsef Pacsek, chief of staff, said at the Tuesday session of the Defence Committee of the National Assembly in Budapest.

Describing the major parts of the renewing military doctrine, Jozsef Pacsek briefed MPs [members of parliament] that the military leadership wished to establish an army of such composition and size that would ensure the concentrated and efficient utilization of sources available for defence. According to the conception which is yet subject to a number of changes and debate, merging the Army with the Border Guard would result in a more efficient utilization of sources. Under this conception, the Workers' Militia would also be integrated in the system of carrying out defence duties. Such a union of the Armed Forces would make for a cheaper defence system free from the current parallel structures. In the wake of the renewed military doctrine and lessening subsidy, the Armed Forces will soon decrease by one-third varying according to services with elimination reaching 50 per cent in certain areas. The shortage of funds would particularly hit the money consuming

branch of the Air Force. To illustrate this, Jozsef Pacsek said that one of the latest MIG-29 fighter planes cost 20 million dollars on the western market. The key element of Hungarian military doctrine will remain the close link of the Hungarian Armed Forces with the Warsaw Treaty, since they ensure adequate defence for the country only within and in close cooperation with the alliance system.

In response to questions during the Tuesday session of the Parliament's Defence Committee, Colonel General Jozsef Pacsek, chief of staff of the Hungarian Army also spoke about the rumours concerning Romania's alleged preparation of a military offence against Hungary. Such disquieting news are unfounded and damaging. (The possibility of an offence can be fully ruled out—irrespective of also other deliberations—because the main body of the Romanian Army is not stationed in Transylvania.) There is unbroken confidence between the Hungarian and Romanian and military leadership, and links are uninterrupted. Concerning recent rumours, the Hungarian chief of staff expressed his firm view that the current political dispute between the two countries should not be allowed to expand to other areas. In this context, the system of military relations is a particularly sensitive area: "...It would lead to armed confrontation if relations were to be disrupted in this area..."

In conclusion, a sub-committee was set up by the Defence Committee for investigating complaints by the inhabitants of the town of Debrecen (E Hungary) concerning the operation of the Soviet military airport in the area.

Foreign Ministry Aide on GDR Exodus*PM1809155489 Paris LE FIGARO in French
15 Sep 89 p 3*

[Interview with 'secretary of state for foreign affairs' Ferenc Somogyi by Jean-Jacques Mevel; date, place not given]

[Text] Budapest— LE FIGARO: Since Monday [11 September] you have been allowing all East Germans in Hungary to leave for the West. How long will you leave the door open?

Ferenc Somogyi: We have temporarily suspended the accords with the GDR (the accords which used to prohibit the East Germans from leaving—LE FIGARO editor's note). What we want is to give them time to leave Hungary calmly. A stampede had to be averted.

LE FIGARO: Is it a matter of days, weeks, or months?

Ferenc Somogyi: Believe me, no date has been set yet. We will leave the border open as long as we deem necessary. I assure you that all East Germans in Hungary will have the opportunity to leave the country.

LE FIGARO: According to Hungarian figures, 60,000 East Germans were legally in Hungary Sunday [10 September] evening. How many have already crossed the Austrian border?

Ferenc Somogyi: By Wednesday morning the figure was over 10,000. Many decided it was better to leave right away. Now the flow has eased somewhat.

LE FIGARO: The 10,000 include those who left the GDR during the past 3 days because they learned that the road to the West was open in Hungary....

Ferenc Somogyi: Yes, but they are a minority. Nevertheless it is true that the number of East Germans arriving here did increase at the beginning of the week. It was not a spectacular increase. It is impossible to know whether they are tourists who will return to the GDR or would-be emigrants.

LE FIGARO: Do you not find it surprising that the GDR let them leave?

Ferenc Somogyi: I cannot comment on the East Berlin government's attitude. However, I can state the following principle: To allow open borders is entirely in line with what is happening in Europe at present.

LE FIGARO: At the beginning of the month Bonn was convinced that Budapest would give the go-ahead to the refugees' departure. Then you seemed to hesitate, before making your mind up Sunday... Was there disagreement within your government?

Ferenc Somogyi: I assure you that there is total agreement on this point within the government.

LE FIGARO: Did the USSR call you to order?

Ferenc Somogyi: The Soviets did not intervene at any moment. There was no pressure on their part. The discussions took place trilaterally, among the FRG, the GDR, and Hungary.

LE FIGARO: So the problem was East Germany....

Ferenc Somogyi: What we wanted from the outset was an arrangement satisfactory to everyone—to the FRG, the GDR, and Hungary. Then we realized that the three-way negotiations would not succeed. We made a unilateral decision because the situation (the influx of refugees—LE FIGARO editor's note) was becoming unmanageable and intolerable. And also because certain proposals were unacceptable.

LE FIGARO: What proposals?

Ferenc Somogyi: There are two things that we wanted to achieve: first, for the East Germans to be able to return home without being harassed; and, second, for them to be guaranteed the possibility of leaving the GDR legally if they so requested. It was on this second point that the discussions ground to a halt. The GDR did not want to go that far.

LE FIGARO: East Berlin is now accusing you of interference...

Ferenc Somogyi: We simply sought a solution acceptable to all

LE FIGARO: The GDR also says that Hungary took money for every refugee who went over to the West...

Ferenc Somogyi: The answer is simple: That is untrue.

LE FIGARO: The FRG has nevertheless just granted you a DM500 million bank loan...

Ferenc Somogyi: Listen, there was no corruption and no conspiracy. Cooperation between Hungary and West Germany goes back a long way in the past and is not merely economic. We Hungarians may be poor, but we are honest.

LE FIGARO: Moscow is also criticizing you...

Ferenc Somogyi: The Soviet Union criticizes some aspects of the arrangement. But as far as I know, it has never directly criticized Hungary on this matter.

LE FIGARO: The West, on the other hand, is unanimous in its compliments. Is that where your interests now lie?

Ferenc Somogyi: Hungary realized that the only way out of its difficulties was to become a full member of the international community again, to diversify its ties with other countries. But if we develop our relations with the West, we will not repeat our past mistake of having friends only on one side. The countries of the East have no choice: They must live together, and none of them can hope to destabilize another.

LE FIGARO: Following the exodus from the GDR, are you afraid of an influx of refugees from other East European countries. From your neighbor Czechoslovakia, for instance?

Ferenc Somogyi: The East Germans who are currently leaving are not refugees. They are people who want to leave their country and whom the FRG is willing to receive. Having said that, basically Hungary cannot open its doors to everyone and become a refugee camp. We will therefore implement the UN convention on the protection of refugees in each individual case.

Parliamentary Committee on Nagymaros Dam Issue

*LD1809174489 Budapest MTI in English
1346 GMT 18 Sep 89*

[Text] Budapest, September 18 (MTI)—Speaking at the Monday session of parliament's Gabcikovo-Nagymaros ad hoc committee, government commissioner Laszlo Udvari urged the Hungarian side to propose modification of the relevant inter-state agreement for the Gabcikovo plant not to be a peak-hour hydro project and construction of the Nagymaros dam to be abandoned. This version is supported by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the circle of independent experts and social movements. On the other hand, the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Oviber Investment Company prefers the original plan. The government is to formulate

its preliminary position after summarizing the varying opinions and Hungarian-Czechoslovak prime ministerial talks are to follow.

The government continues to concentrate on the complete observance of ecological standards, but it is difficult to express the ecological hazard in economic calculations, Mr Udvari said.

The Czechoslovak side asked Hungarian Parliament to contribute to fulfilling the inter-state agreement, as this would be to the advantage of both peoples. Bela Berdar, chairman of the ad hoc committee, said that Hungarian Parliament would discuss the issue in detail at its session in October, thus the reply is justified at that time. [as received]

No Progress at Talks

*LD1909223189 Budapest MTI in English
2138 GMT 19 Sep 89*

[Text] Prague, September 19 (MTI)—The Hungarian-Czechoslovak international legal discussions on the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros water barrage project ended on Tuesday without any specific result. At the talks held in Prague on Monday and Tuesday it became evident that the Czechoslovak side sticks to its previous position to accuse Hungary of breaching an agreement owing to the suspension of constructions. It is also claiming indemnification for incurring losses and intends to take a unilateral measure by re-channeling the Danube river on its own territory. Czech international lawyers were unable not come up with any specific information on this latter issue.

Tamas Ban, chief of division of the Ministry of Justice, heading the Hungarian delegation told MTI's Prague correspondent that the negotiations came to an end without any concrete progress. The only agreement reached was on some elements of the international law which could be considered in deliberating the Hungarian or Czechoslovak position. The position of the two countries differs completely, also according to the Czech side. While the Hungarian side is proposing negotiations owing to ecological hazards, the Czech side would not hear of the amendment of the 1977 inter-governmental agreement on the barrage system.

Mr Ban emphasized that the Czech negotiating partners have alluded on several occasions to their consideration for the environmental aspects, but the talks concentrated to energetics and economic aspects when discussing specific problems of the barrage project. The Hungarian delegation was disappointed over the fact that the colleagues in Prague could not come forward with any concrete details on the concept of re-channeling the river on Czechoslovak side.

In whatever form this measure might be implemented, Czechoslovakia would be breaching a line of international agreements, i.e. if it were to change the frontier lines it would involve the 1947 Paris peace agreement, the 1976 Czechoslovak-Hungarian frontier water accord

and the 1948 Belgrade agreement on the Danube river—if it were to alter the shipping main line. From their part, the Czechoslovak international lawyers stated that Czechoslovakia intends to implement the re-channelling without breaching international agreements. They however conceded that the envisaged solution would certainly alter the shipping route.

Professor Laszlo Valki, head of the international law faculty of the Eotvos Lorand University of Arts and Sciences, commented that those in charge of the Czech project failed to brief their lawyers to such an extent that they did not have a map of the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros constructions, but had to rely on a sketch published in the May 16 issue of the newspaper RUDE PRAVO.

It was reported by members of the Hungarian delegation that they were under the impression that the concept of re-channelling is only in its preparatory phase in Czechoslovakia. This idea is supported by the fact that the relevant measure should be passed by the federal parliament as well.

Nemeth Receives EC Trade Official

*LD1809220489 Budapest MTI in English
2029 GMT 18 Sep 89*

[Text] Budapest, September 18 (MTI)—Frans Adriessen, vice-president of the Brussels Commission of the European Communities responsible for external relations and trade policy, had a busy negotiation agenda on Monday in Budapest. Mr Adriessen received from Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy the 70-page document which contains the proposals of the Hungarian Government on cooperation. Mr Adriessen held talks with several members of Hungarian Government, including the minister of foreign affair, the minister of trade, and the president of the National Planning Office, and also held talks with representatives of the Social Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Party and the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth also received Mr Adriessen, and briefed him on the Hungarian political and economic reforms. The prime minister stressed that the developed countries should show sympathy for the Hungarian processes not only in words, but should support those with the concrete expansion of cooperation.

A press conference was held at the end of the negotiations. Mr Medgyessy said that the document presented to the vice-president also includes the conceptions of the Hungarian Government for three-years, which is a sort of national strategy as the conceptions set down basically do not differ from those expressed by the opposition parties.

Nemeth Meets With British Publisher

LD1909124589 Budapest MTI in English
0955 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 19 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Robert Maxwell, president of Britain's Maxwell Communication, in the Parliament building, Budapest, on Tuesday.

The businessman is in Hungary to study the economic situation and the printed and electronic press.

Pozsgay Receives Canadian Delegation

LD1809183989 Budapest MTI in English
1702 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 18 (MTI)—The delegation of the Canadian Senate's Europe Committee, currently visiting Hungary under the leadership of Committee Chairman Terry Clifford at the invitation of Hungarian Parliament, met Istvan Fodor, vice-president of the National Assembly, on Monday. Mr Fodor briefed the delegation on the changing role of parliament, the operation of the independent and opposition group participating in its work. Discussions also included the lawful guarantees of peaceful transition, and foreign capital investments opportunities. The Canadian delegation met Janos Berecz, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of Parliament. The delegation was also received by Minister of State Imre Pozsgay.

Nemeth Interviewed on Regional Security Proposal

AU1509190989 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 12 Sep 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Premier Miklos Nemeth, by unidentified MTI staffer: "Miklos Nemeth on Regional Security—The MSZMP Proposal Can Be Adjusted to the Government Defense Strategy"—date and place not given]

[Text] Premier Miklos Nemeth answered MTI's questions:

[Question] The initiative published by the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee is in fact a proposal formulated for the Hungarian Government. As premier, what is your opinion about the content of this initiative and about the aforementioned format characteristics?

[Nemeth] I thoroughly agree with the content and intention of this proposal, although it has an element that can be misinterpreted, but I will return to this. I agree with the proposal both as a member of the signing body and as the addressee of the proposal, the premier. I stress the fact that I also agree with it as a Central Committee member, because this is not always the case with all the decisions of this body, and I think it is important that the public should know this.

[Question] We also think this is important; so would you tell us what decisions you have in mind?

[Nemeth] I would mention the presence of party organizations in workplaces as the most recent example of such disagreement. I voted with the minority who think that it is not correct to enable the parties to organize in workplaces.

[Question] Let us return to the security policy initiative of the MSZMP Central Committee. Does this require a change in the government policy?

[Nemeth] Not at all; the proposed steps can organically fit into the national defense strategy which the government is currently formulating and which it will discuss soon. We began the operative steps for the establishment of this security zone earlier, and we initiated cooperation with the governments of Yugoslavia and Austria.

[Question] In your view, what is the essence of this Hungarian regional security policy initiative?

[Nemeth] The MSZMP Central Committee called upon the government to take measures aimed at broadening good-neighborly relations. Our government has also done this so far, and we agree that there is a need for further steps. I myself consider this to be a major national interest. The creation of such a security zone could further improve the Hungarian-Austrian and Hungarian-Yugoslav good-neighborly relations, and obviously it will actually do so.

I agree with the opinion that a security policy is not only made up of military policy elements. Obviously, every coordinated and mutual disarmament step increases security.

At the same time, other political steps will also increase the security of the Hungarian nation, like:

- initiatives for the creation of novel economic and trade forms, including the establishment of free-trade zones;
- coordination of environmental protection measures, including the creation of joint nature protection areas;
- the development of cultural, touristic, and border area traffic.

This year, the government has taken several measures and concrete steps in the aforementioned areas.

It is heartening that the Soviet Government is a constructive and cooperative partner in these issues.

We do have difficulties with the CSSR, but these difficulties can be overcome and the Hungarian Government is making every effort in this direction.

Unfortunately, even our initiatives for genuine talks with Romania have failed.

[Question] Nowadays, the foreign policy of the Hungarian Government is being criticized from the inside. According to this criticism, these steps are drawing attacks from the neighboring socialist countries. What is your opinion about this?

[Nemeth] In my opinion, the efforts of the Hungarian Government to increase its foreign policy independence on the basis of asserting our national independence meet with the full agreement of the Hungarian public. However, groups with different views emerge from both the extreme left and the extreme right. The extreme right believes that what we are doing is not enough and, disregarding Hungary's geopolitical situation, it demands steps that would isolate us and would set us on a collision course with the neighboring peoples. This isolation cannot be in our national interest.

The extreme left, on the other hand, identifies with the criticism directed against the Hungarian Government by the leadership of some socialist countries in order to vent their own internal political tensions. I think I do not have to prove that indiscriminate identification with foreign criticism does not serve the interests of the Hungarian people.

[Question] Do you find it feasible for the government to reduce the defense budget again this year by 5.5 billion forints? This is, in fact, the proposal of the MSZMP Central Committee.

[Nemeth] This is precisely the element which I said can be misinterpreted. I think this is impossible. This proposal can only be based on a misunderstanding. The government has already reduced its defense budget by 5.5 billion forints this year, and the proposal refers to this.

[Question] Where does the government stand in working out its defense strategy?

[Nemeth] We are in the phase of internal coordination between government organs. It is our fundamental goal to place the Hungarian security policy into the framework of the conventional balance of forces in Europe. Hungarian security can simply not be discussed in a nuclear war.

On this basis, it is possible to considerably reduce our Armed Forces and create defense forces of better quality than at present, defense forces that will rely much more than hitherto on professional soldiers. According to this concept, the Soviet land forces currently stationed in Hungary—three divisions—are not needed. Therefore, the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops cannot be the goal of political pressure. From a domestic policy point of view, this depends on the shift to the new defense strategy, and from a foreign policy point of view, this depends on the development of the balance of forces in Europe and the elimination of military blocs; in other words, it will surely be a process of several years.

The task of national defense should lie within the government and the state organization. This means focusing on the national character in the Army, and it also provides constitutional guarantees that, in their conduct, the Armed Forces will support the peaceful nature of democratic transition.

The Army is already advancing on this road by introducing reform measures such as the elimination of direct party guidance in the Army, the introduction of alternative military service, the development of certain elements of military service, and certain steps toward increasing publicity.

Trilateral Political Coordination Talks Held

LD1909192689 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Relay of plenary session of trilateral political coordination talks in Budapest—live; no video available]

[Excerpts] [Andreas Toth, member of Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] team and member of Drafting Committee] Mr Chairman, esteemed negotiating sides: The drafting committee delegated by the three negotiating sides has looked through the draft agreement which the MSZMP delegation has submitted in order to close the phase of the political coordination talks between 13 June and 18 September, and it has approved the proposal with textual modifications. The textual modifications are of a defining nature; accordingly, I respectfully propose that we refrain now from reading them in itemized form, and from initiating further debates. I am of the opinion that the proposals submitted by the representatives delegated by the three negotiating sides were acceptable by consensus. Thus, the representatives of the three negotiating sides consider every point of this draft submission to be ready for signing. Thank you for your attention.

[Chairman] Thank you. I ask the other two other negotiating sides whether they wish to comment on Andras Toth's report.

[Unidentified speaker] We accept it.

[Unidentified speaker] We accept it.

[Chairman] Then, properly speaking, we can view our work today, regarding the function of the medium-level talks, as having concluded. In this capacity, I express thanks for the work of the negotiating sides, and I propose that we continue work as a plenary session. In accordance with preliminary agreements, I hand over the floor to Lajos Horvath, deputy speaker of the National Assembly. [passage omitted]

[Horvath] I greet you with respect, and I wish you successful work and consultations. According to the report of the medium-level political coordination committee dealing with issues concerning a peaceful transition, the sides have already reached agreement in the preparation of several draft laws. Accordingly, at today's plenary session, the representatives of the three negotiating sides are submitting the agreements on the basis of which the government will be able to put forward draft laws at the next session of parliament. I believe that this is a very significant result of the work of the sides, which has been accompanied by great social interest. It has

been work that has lasted several months. In the course of the talks, in the period between 10 June 1989 and 18 September, at the level of experts' committees, 238 sessions were held, whose total duration approximates 1,000 working hours. One thousand three hundred and four people attended these talks; altogether 3,439 pages of minutes were taken; and the number of duplicated pages approximates 200,000 sheets. [passage omitted]

I imagine that the participants in the plenary sessions and the country's public are affected by and interested in the concrete agreements; for this reason, in accordance with the preliminary arrangements, I hand over the floor to Rezso Nyers, representative of the MSZMP.

[Nyers] Ladies and gentlemen. As a result of 3 months' hard consultations, we have reached the end of a stage. With our signature we can strengthen the political consensus that has come into being on the principles and regulations serving the peaceful transition. This is a joint achievement, which is witness to the three sides' constructiveness, their intention to reach agreement and their self-discipline. I am of the view that we have made a big stride toward a political system in which the political will springs from the citizen, and this will is realized by institutions built on society's creditable initiatives coming from below. The national building of democracy will be a work which we shall create shoulder to shoulder by joint effort.

Since May 1988 the MSZMP has been progressing unwaveringly on the path of reforms. It has set as its target the realization of democratic socialism. We are living through fateful times. Our decisions will determine the future of the nation. To avoid deepening the crisis demands a change of political model, a constitutional state, the institutions of a modern parliamentary democracy. This system, with regard to our common conduct, can be built only on patience and on mutual understanding. Let us heed the warning of Lajos Kossuth: let us not (?argue) about what we have been; let us unite upon what we should become.

Taking into consideration also the political experiences of our recent historical past, the MSZMP considers democracy, the principle of people's sovereignty, to be a value that cannot be replaced by anything else. We, however, also think and act in practice. We must keep it in view that the change of political model has to be realized by retaining the country's governability. We are all responsible also for seeing to it that the economy's ability to function should be maintained even amidst the considerable changes.

Only one way out of the economic crisis is on offer: a radical speed-up of the economic reform process, the increasingly effective involvement of external resources, including in the form of operating capital. One of the indispensable conditions for this, however, is the stability of our domestic political life. A self-lacerating country burdened with party conflicts cannot expect the governments of the developed countries to see it as an

attractive partner, or international financial circles to consider it to be a promising area for investments.

Thanks to the MSZMP's calculable, cooperation-seeking foreign policy, Hungary in the recent decades has justifiably won itself recognition and esteem abroad. It is in our vital interest that Hungarian foreign policy also in the future should serve European stability and cooperation. The democratic organizations represented here can and do contribute to this esteem. We have to deepen our cooperation with the developed regions of the world. Apart from this we must strive to see that not even Eastern Europe can draw into question our alliance commitment.

When our negotiating delegation signed the document on the preliminary agreements, our party was guided not by the method of handing over power, but by the objective of transforming the exercise of power. I would like to remind you that it was our party itself which started the dismantling of the party-state, and it considered the creation of constitutional statehood to be its main task. It is our conviction that the development of legal institutions which also by European standards is reckoned to be modern, serve alike political stability, peaceful transition, and the new national consensus.

We do not consider the assertion of people's sovereignty, the creation of democracy, to be closed with the development of multiparty parliamentarism. While we commit ourselves on the side of representational democracy based on the multiparty system, we also take a stance that the citizens' organization of a nonpolitical purpose should also expand and strengthen, and that autonomous communities should widely develop.

It is the MSZMP's stance that, concluding the first phase of the discussions, the time has come for us to submit to parliament those draft laws in which we have managed to reach agreement. It is our opinion that the National Assembly can to the full extent fulfill its historic mission in the transition to constitutional statehood. From the viewpoint of the smoothness of the transition and the democratic principles, we consider unacceptable the spreading campaign of recalls, which makes the work of the deputies' body difficult.

It is in the country's interest that we hold free elections as soon as possible. This, however, also makes it necessary that the parties' operation, their economic management, should happen within legal guarantees, settled legal frameworks. The practice of the developed bourgeois democracies warns us not to curb the parties' operation where that does not run counter to the demands of constitutional statehood. Also for this reason, the MSZMP, as first and foremost the party of the workers, insists that no state regulations or laws should prohibit free organization at workplaces.

The MSZMP ascribes great significance to the institution of President of the Republic. We are of the view that it is in the common national interest that the presidential election should take place this year. Such a solution

would have a calming effect on the country's ever more vexed public opinion before the complexities of a parliamentary election of multiple chances, an eventual multiparty government. But rationality dictates this even if I think of the tasks connected with the maintaining and improving of the country's international relations. Within a foreseeable time, therefore, parliamentary elections will take place in Hungary.

On behalf of our negotiating delegation I would again like to reaffirm: Our party undertakes to be measured by means of democratic elections. Only the free expression of society's will can bring into being a new parliament which, with the knowledge of its responsibility felt for the nation's fate, and also knowing that it has the population's support behind it, can do its legislative work.

The MSZMP, depending on the results of the election, is ready to share governmental responsibility with other parties. It is unavoidable that in the current situation, the political forces have an interest, rather, in separating themselves from one another, in shaping their own political profile and in making this known. In spite of this, in the coming months, we ought to endeavor that, in spite of egotistical party interests, the joint sense of responsibility and joint work prevail in the political landscape.

We are facing decisive months. To no small extent it also depends on those sitting in this hall whether we shall be able to take advantage of this unparalleled historical opportunity, whether we shall create a democratic constitutional state that facilitates modernization. At present, our left-wing, socialist reform party, which is undergoing rebirth, is mobilizing its forces to make use of this historical opportunity, and it calls on every Hungarian citizen who feels responsibility for his homeland's fate to support this. Thank you for your attention. [passage omitted]

[Gyorgy Szabad, member of Opposition Roundtable] What we have achieved here may be a foundation for the development of our future. [passage omitted] It is possible that many will say that this foundation is small. We tell them: Widen it. It is possible that there will be those who will say that the guarantee which was now possible to lay down for the creation of a future Hungarian democracy is insufficient. We tell them: safeguard what we were able to attain with a struggle just now and add more to it. [passage omitted] We wanted nothing else but that the people should awaken to their power and to dare using it; what's more, in free elections. [passage omitted]

[Imre Nagy, chairman of Democratic Youth League] [passage omitted] We wish to announce to the broad public opinion that we agree with the bills worked out jointly and we urge their submission to the National Assembly. It is our conviction that these bills will secure a good basis for the peaceful transition wanted by all, they correspond to the real interests of the majority of Hungarian society. Likewise, we agree with the other agreements which can not be included in laws. [passage omitted]

We consider parliamentarianism as very important. We consider the preparation and organization of free elections as very important. But all this is only an important, but perhaps not the most important element of democracy. Because, according to the third side, development of self-government and civic public life is just as important.

Esteemed consulting parties! We have created a part of the system of conditions and means for the peaceful transition. We have agreed on the amendment of the constitution, and within this on the creation of the institution of the president of the republic. The organizations participating as the third side consider that the election of the president of the republic is necessary as soon as possible by a referendum. [passage omitted]

Another thing which has to be mentioned is that tomorrow's positions can be decided behind the scenes too, in the form of unprincipled bickering over state property, so that by the time we get to the elections, instead of an unjust system in practice, there already will exist an even more unjust system operating on the basis of property.

Perhaps it looks like marring of the feast that, at the signing of the agreements, I talk about the tasks which are still ahead of us. However, we do not want to celebrate but while appreciating and valuing the results so far, we want to carry on the work. Thank you.

[Horvath] Thank you. Esteemed negotiating sides, a substantive agreement has therefore been reached in the main issues. These are contained in the draft agreement that awaits signing. I thank you for your responsible decision, for the report on this and for deigning to hold talks. I ask for the negotiating sides please to sign the agreement, for Minister of State Imre Pozsgay to send the agreement on to government, and for all of us to help in the success of this historically significant agreement. [passage omitted]

[Minister of State Imre Pozsgay] Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. In this elated and festive atmosphere, I should like to make a factual announcement, trusting that this will not spoil any of this elatedness. In an important issue, we, at the medium-level talks, referred to the plenary session. Namely, this concerns the assessment of the public conditions and public law conditions after the Constitution comes into force, the question of who is to perform the duties of head of state until the president of the republic is elected. Although in this matter, the stand of the MSZMP was different, recognizing the arguments pertaining to this and, the rationality of the proposals of the Opposition Roundtable, it has reached the conclusion that it will accept the proposal of the Opposition Roundtable that, simultaneously with the coming into force of the constitutional amendments, the presidential council will resign, and until the president of republic is elected, according to the norms stipulated by law, the speaker of the National Assembly will perform the office of head of state. I owed this

announcement, and I believe that it is a further contribution to our being able to declare our talks to be successful. Thank you for your attention. [passage omitted]

[Horvath] Thank you. I ask you now to sign the agreement. Is something still unclear? Please, Peter Tolgyessy.

[Peter Tolgyessy, member of the Alliance of Free Democrats] Properly speaking, I shall turn to a discussion of the most important issue, and we are still far away from declaring a complete consensus. The most important issue, alongside setting up the institution of head of state, is the date and method of electing the head of state. In this matter, the Opposition Roundtable has not been able to form a unified standpoint. From among the organizations in the Opposition Roundtable, four organizations have a different standpoint from the other five organizations. From among the nine organizations of the Opposition Roundtable, five lean toward accepting direct election and election before parliamentary elections. Four organizations cannot accept this solution. [passage omitted]

[Horvath] Imre Pozsgay speaks on behalf of the MSZMP.

[Pozsgay] Mr Chairman, Ladies and gentleman. Neither does the MSZMP negotiating delegation wish to intervene in the debate which has arisen within the Opposition Roundtable concerning the judgement of certain issues, but primarily concerning the judgement of one important issue. I would like primarily to contribute to the proposal, just like we have shown a similar attitude in the entire progression, process of the talks. I still cannot pass by without saying something concerning the comments and remarks with which there are attempts to belittle the results which have come about here at the negotiating table. I do not believe that there might have been a false tone to the words which festively and clearly appreciated these results at today's discussions. I do not believe that false objectives guided those who regarded and qualified these as an important result, a foundation, in the period of peaceful transition.

Allow me also to say that the MSZMP negotiating delegation, primarily guarding over the dignity of the talks, never has accepted the tone which has been struck by the Alliance Of Free Democrats and the Federation of Young Democrats in judging certain issues, and primarily regarding this concrete matter now. We do not believe that anyone should have to sit at the negotiating table from a position of passing judgement. The treacheries of the awareness of passing judgement are known and have been tried by us all: perhaps this aspect owes more, regarding this, to the people, than other (?groups) of citizens. This is also something that we have acknowledged from the outset. However, the awareness, perfidies—to express it with a fine word—of passing judgement cannot be accepted as a negotiating position. If we were to adopt this style, it would be very easy to transfer the remarks which were voiced today, which the public

makes use of in accordance with its responsibility, to the sphere of political propaganda.

What really made us indignant—let no one view this as being obstinate—is that what emerged here were basic, decisively significant proposals, such as, for example, the passing of judgement on every, or most, laws, by means of referenda, which easily could have emerged in the first phase of the days of negotiation; we would gladly have acquainted ourselves with these motions, and none of us would have been averse to discussing them. Thus, who was misled here? Obviously, it was the people who were compelled to follow these talks, which were extorted by publicity machinations of this or that type, and who at the most were able to conclude, from this publicity, that there were chaotic conditions. I believe that neither can this be disregarded now.

And another thing to add to this, which caused me even greater indignation, is that I fear that the real problem is not surrounding the matter of people's sovereignty. My fear—and convince me at the next talks that this is groundless—is that the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Federation of Young Democrats do not even believe in a future, freely elected parliament, because if they presume its sovereignty, then there is no obstacle to the expression and religitimization of the appropriate volition, if they feel there is a controversial situation at the negotiating table. That is what I wanted to say, because I do not think that with this disbelief, with this reservation, and with this scorn of the people, we can be allowed to set forth on the period of peaceful transition.

Concerning the matter of the concrete proposal, we are not expounding on the reasons which led some of our negotiating partners to their conclusions. Our standpoint concerning this was different, but in this matter too, we have approached the objective. We were willing to do this, because we consider the peaceful transition to be important. Weighing up the compromise proposals, we therefore consider the stand of the five organizations to be acceptable. I reiterate that the MSZMP [word indistinct] from its original negotiating objective and position, but precisely in the spirit of the peaceful transition referred to so often here, accepts the [word indistinct] compromises, not from the side of passing judgement, but from the side of being measured up. Thank you. [passage omitted]

Hungarian Democratic Forum Press Briefing

*LD1909213589 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1630 GMT 19 Sep 89*

[Text] Yesterday we reported that, after long weeks of debate, the political coordination talks have come to an end. Today several participants in the Opposition Roundtable decided it was important to make their stance known. Peter Szorenyi was at a press briefing given by the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF].

[Szorenyi] With yesterday's agreement, a change of political system has taken place in our country. I heard this

today at the press briefing by the Hungarian Democratic Forum. As it was outlined, the signed document can be considered as not a complete but a good compromise. At the same time it was denied that the Opposition Round-table would have dissolved because yesterday, the Alliance of Young Democrats and Alliance of Free Democrats did not sign the document.

According to Jozsef Antal, leader of the HDF consulting group, one cannot talk even about a collaboration between his organization and the present ruling party. The HDF does not give up the hope that at a later stage, agreement could be reached in the questions still disputed today. That is, the Workers' Guard should be disbanded, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] must leave the work places and it should give account of its present wealth.

In their opinion, a consensus had to be made because the MSZMP would have submitted the so-called laws of vital importance to the National Assembly by all means. This way, at least, there is an agreement which cannot be evaded. Apparently, it could have happened that the ruling party would have worded the paragraphs according to its own taste.

To the question from a NEW YORK TIMES correspondent, the HDF spokesman replied that in the first round of the elections they do not wish to form a coalition with anybody, they will see in the second round. They did not wish to give a statement about the MSZMP because, in their view, it would not be fortunate before the October Congress of the party, since there, the present ruling party can be transformed significantly.

Finally, they emphatically asked the press to report on their press briefing in an unbiased way.

SZDSZ Holds Press Conference in Budapest

*LD1909230689 Budapest MTI in English
1504 GMT 19 Sep 89*

[Text] Budapest, September 19 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [HSWP] is doing its utmost to preserve its property for the period after the parliamentary elections, it was stated at the Tuesday press briefing of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) in Budapest. The HSWP has basically handed over into private ownership the real estate in party or state ownership through founding various one-person limited liability companies. As reported, in June, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party registered at the court of registration a company Next 2000 [as received] to handle its real estate. SZDSZ now claims that the governing party has set up similar companies designed to preserve HSWP property in six counties, and presumably in their counties. "Cimbriana" is based in Veszprem, "Allegro" and "Oszsi" in Gyor, "Komfort Plusz" in Szekesfehervar, "Polopves" in Balassagyarmat and "Bacs-Touring" in Kecskemet. Under the modification of the Law on Land No. 1 of 1987, from July 1, 1989, real estate in state ownership should be handled only by

state or social bodies, which is conceivable why the companies were rapidly set up. According to an SZDSZ estimate, these county-based companies have transferred properties of a value of another 1,000 million forints from the rightful state ownership.

According to a position by the Alliance of Free Democrats, the rights connected to state property must revert to the owner, the Hungarian state. Therefore, they reiterated their demand of seizure by the National Assembly of the property of the HSWP, workers' militia and SZOT [National Trade Union Council]. They plan to table a related motion to MPs.

MSZMP to Hand Over Property to Government

*LD1809184189 Budapest MTI in English
1703 GMT 18 Sep 89*

[Text] Budapest, September 18 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is to hand over property valued at some 2,000 million forints to the government by the end of the year. The financing of the parties will be realized from this—Imre Pozsgay announced at the medium-level talks held prior to the plenary session of the trilateral political coordination talks on Monday evening.

With respect to the Workers' Militia, the leader of the HSWP negotiating delegation said it is an armed organization affiliated to the Council of Ministers, and operated with state regulation. The future work of the organization will be determined in the framework of the defence reform. Until then, the government approved the confidence-building proposal of the HSWP to reduce the staff of the Workers' Militia from the current 60,000 to 40,000 next year. The armed exercises of the workers' militia will be discontinued, and its weapons placed under the supervision of the Ministry of Defence.

Horvath Says Pecs Mine To Be Closed

*LD1509214989 Budapest MTI in English
2047 GMT 15 Sep 89*

[Text] Budapest, September 15 (MTI)—In a tense atmosphere, Ferenc Horvath, minister of industry, met the uranium miners of Pecs on Friday. (As reported earlier, in late August the miners staged a mass demonstration because of the planned closure of the mine.)

The minister announced that he had submitted to the government a proposal for closing the mine. He said that the investigations carried out for more than a year with the involvement of Soviet experts confirmed that the mine would have to be closed. If the government accepts the proposal, exploratory work will cease and the excavation of the explored rocks take a year. Total halting of uranium mining is expected in late 1990. There will be particular emphasis on environmental protection carried out with foreign assistance and viable branch units that could be developed would employ a staff of 1,000-1,200.

For profitability reasons, the mine should be closed with no delay, the minister said. Since an immediate closure is impossible, there will be adequate time to create new places of employment.

Deputy Minister of Industry Gyula Czipper said that the uranium mine received 2,500-3,000 million forints state subsidy last year and this year. If mining continues, by 1995 annual subsidy could be 4,000 million.

Mr Czipper disclosed the previously classified data that the costs of excavation make up 90 dollars/tonne while the world market price stands at 25-30 dollars and Soviet buyers pay 60 roubles. The closure of the uranium mine does not influence the supply of the Paks Nuclear Power Plant with Soviet raw materials since it is regulated by a separate agreement.

Mr Czipper said that in recent months the company had failed to find foreign cooperation partners. He added that out of the 6,500 employees of the mine, the 900 people working underground who will be provided with employment at the same wage at the Mecsek collieries. The deputy minister of industry denied the Mecsek collieries would also be closed.

The ministry officials promised preferential treatment for people left jobless such as extra fund for re-training schemes and restarting loans. Although the miners found the proposals and plans insufficient, it was agreed to continue dialogue.

Government Spokesman Holds Press Conference

AU1309173189 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 8 Sep 89 p 5

[Report by correspondents Andras Banki and Maria Lakatos, with the participation of Interior Minister Istvan Horvath and Government Commissioner Janos Martonyi, in Budapest on 7 Sep: "Council of Ministers Holds Session—The GDR Refugees Must Wait a Few Days More—Miklos Nemeth Has the Flu—A Law on Privatization Is Being Prepared—Meat Producers Are Encouraged—Mixed Enterprises and Foreign Capital—Kalman Kulcsar Will Not Resign—Press Conference by Acting Government Spokesman Zsolt Bajnok"]

[Excerpts] At its session on 7 September, on the basis of reports submitted by the interior and foreign ministers, the Council of Ministers reviewed the issue concerning GDR citizens in Hungary who want to resettle in the FRG. The government accepted the reforms in agreement.

The Council of Ministers discussed the legal regulations concerning state property and the tasks connected with privatization. At the same time, the government assigned to the competent government commissioners the task of working out the concepts and the necessary legal regulations at an accelerated pace.

The government listened to a report on relieving the tensions that have emerged in producing and processing pigs for slaughter.

The Council of Ministers reduced the consumer tax on wines.

At an international press conference following the government session, Zsolt Bajnok briefed the journalists about the government session. [passage omitted]

Following Zsolt Bajnok's statement, Janos Martonyi briefed the journalists about the draft bill on state property and the tasks connected with reprivatization. He said that the government regards as an outstanding task working out the law on state property and introducing this program. In accordance with its earlier promise, the government wants to submit the draft bill on state property by 31 October, and thus, the issue will again be on the agenda of the government session in September. [passage omitted]

MAGYAR HIRLAP: Society has reacted badly to reprivatization. Is this the reason the government has backed down now? Or, let me put it differently: The nationalization carried out in 1948 proved to be basically an unjust measure. Why do you think that this current measure will basically be a just measure?

Janos Martonyi: The government did not back down at all; on the contrary, it decided to accelerate this process of privatization. One of the goals of the new law on privatization is to prevent the distortions and abuses of state control. Another goal is to accelerate this process of privatization, which I will now call a process of ownership change. [passage omitted]

Hungarian Radio: One can often hear nowadays that, in the majority of cases in which people want to establish a mixed enterprise with more than 50-percent participation of foreign capital—and this requires special permission—the Hungarian authorities have a negative attitude. Will this continue in the future, or will the procedure be somewhat more liberal?

Janos Martonyi: I have totally opposite information about this. As far as I know, the authorities approve the majority of requests for licenses for mixed enterprises with more than 50 percent participation of foreign capital.

Some requests are probably rejected, but this happens for quite special reasons. Therefore, I strongly reject the idea that the Hungarian authorities carry out a restrictive licensing practice. [passage omitted]

Hungarian Radio: Is the rumor true that the justice minister has resigned, or that he intends to resign?

Zsolt Bajnok: I am not aware of the intention of the justice minister to resign, although I did not ask Imre Kulcsar about this. All I can say is that there is no sign of any such intention on his part. On the contrary: He is full of ambition in the way he guides the activity which we

can justifiably call historical, because the Justice Ministry is currently engaged in extremely important legislative activity. [passage omitted]

MTI: Minister of State Imre Pozsgay announced on 6 September that the government would submit the party law to the National Assembly even if no agreement is reached on this issue at the tripartite talks. Will this not endanger the tripartite talks?

Zsolt Bajnok: I do not want to comment on Imre Pozsgay's statements, because nobody else inside or even outside the government is more competent in dealing with the national roundtable talks, the possibilities of reaching a consensus in the talks, or the possible consequences of a lack of such a consensus. [passage omitted]

MTI Foreign Broadcasts: At the press conference held by the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT] on 6 September, Sandor Nagy said he was not content with only convening the National Interest Coordination Council, but that he would make use of a counter proposal: He will call for direct talks with the government. Was this issue discussed at the government session, and, if so, how will the government reply to this?

Zsolt Bajnok: The government did not deal with this issue, probably because the government had already expressed its position according to which it is ready to negotiate with the SZOT and the trade union leaders. There is no need to confirm this, and this position is still valid.

U.S. Commerce Secretary Mosbacher Visits Poland

Holds Meeting With Jaruzelski

*LD1909224489 Warsaw PAP in English
1832 GMT 19 Sep 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 19—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today U.S. Secretary of Commerce Robert Mosbacher, now on an official visit to Poland.

The sides discussed possibilities for greater Polish-American economic cooperation. The president was interested in the pace of legislative procedure in the U.S. Congress on executive acts on the issue.

Present was Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki.

Talks With Mazowiecki

*LD1909224289 Warsaw PAP in English
1945 GMT 19 Sep 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 19—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received U.S. Secretary of Commerce Robert Mosbacher today. Minister Marcin Swiecicki took part in the talks devoted to discussing prospects for the development of Polish-U.S. cooperation in economy.

U.S. ambassador here John Davis was present.

Meets With Ministry Representatives

*LD1909223289 Warsaw PAP in English
1947 GMT 19 Sep 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 19—U.S. Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher started his two-day visit to Poland today. The U.S. guest and the accompanying experts had talks with representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

The visit of the U.S. guest to Poland is linked to the signing of a Polish-U.S. agreement on cooperation of private sectors of both states and the development and support of tourism between Poland and the U.S.

FRG Embassy in Warsaw To Close 'Temporarily'

*LD1909181689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 19 Sep 89*

[Text] Despite earlier information, the FRG has decided to temporarily close its embassy in Warsaw tomorrow [20 September]. One hundred and ten GDR citizens are on the embassy grounds intending to emigrate to the FRG. The embassy press office informed us that visa applications may be submitted through travel agencies throughout Poland.

The FRG Embassy in Warsaw may be contacted by telephone and mail.

Further on Embassy Closure

*LD1909221789 Warsaw PAP in English
1845 GMT 19 Sep 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 19—110 GDR citizens, wishing to emigrate to the FRG, are staying at the premises of the FRG Embassy in Warsaw.

The embassy's press attache told PAP this afternoon that the FRG Government is holding talks with the Polish and GDR Governments. Due to the sensitive issue, the attache declined to give more details and directed PAP to the West German Foreign Ministry.

Asked by PAP how the embassy managed to place so many people in a rather small embassy building, the attache replied: We somehow managed to do this. PAP journalist did not observe any signs of any greater-than-usual number of people from the outside staying on the mission's premises.

Limitations on gathering information from the grounds of the mission as well as on taking photographs indoors also embrace foreign journalists, who show great interest in the refugees from the GDR.

Meanwhile according to information from Bonn, the FRG decided to temporarily close down as of Wednesday its embassy in Warsaw. The announcement was made in Bonn today by spokesman for the FRG Foreign Affairs Ministry Juergen Chrobog.

The West German Embassy in Warsaw announced today that the embassy will be temporarily closed as of Wednesday. Contact with the embassy is possible by mail or phone. Visa applications will be received only via Polish travel bureaus. The embassy is cooperating with over 100 such bureaus around Poland.

FRG citizens who have found themselves in a difficult position, are asked to contact the embassy by phone.

EC Officials Visit, Agreement Signed in Warsaw

*LD1909214689 Warsaw PAP in English
0848 GMT 19 Sep 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 19—The agreement on trade and commercial and economic cooperation signed here today by Poland and the EC means normalization of the relations and is an act of support for Polish economic reform and a substantial step towards breaking the divisions in Europe—this is a univocal opinion by representatives of Poland's government and the European communities.

The EC representatives—French Foreign Minister, President of the Council of Ministers of the Communities Roland Dumas and Vice-President of the EC Commission Frans Andriessen, in charge of external relations, trade policy and cooperation with European countries, were received today, on the last day of their Polish stay, by President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

The EC guests and also paid a visit to the seats of the Sejm and Senate.

Dumas and Andriessen held also talks with Mazowiecki that focused on the prospects for further development of Poland-EC relations and concrete steps in the implementation of the signed agreement.

The same issues emerged during talks by the EC representatives and Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski. The foreign ministers of Poland and France discussed the current issues of bilateral cooperation of both states, emphasizing intensive development of the relations after Polish visit by the president of France. Dumas invited Skubiszewski to pay an official visit to France, which was received with satisfaction.

Dumas and Andriessen talked today also with Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki.

Andriessen met with Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski and Minister Witold Trzeciakowski.

After talks at the Office of the Council of Ministers, an agreement on trade and economic and commercial cooperation between Poland and the EC was signed in the presence of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and ambassadors of EC states.

The document was signed on the Polish side by Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki and on the part of the EC, by French Minister of Foreign Affairs, current Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the EC Roland Dumas and Deputy Chairman of EC Commission Frans Andriessen.

In the agreement, both sides take on an obligation to facilitate and promote trade and economic cooperation. They confirm the obligation of mutually granting to each other of the most-favoured-nation status. The EC obliged itself to gradually eliminate discriminatory limitations imposed on Polish goods. This is to take place in three phases: Part of the barriers will be lifted next year, another part by the end of 1992, while the remaining ones by the end of 1994.

In tune with the agreement Poland obliged itself to continue activities aimed to facilitate economic activities of foreign enterprises in Poland and not to discriminate producers from the EC.

The document defines goals and spheres of economic cooperation, among other things, support of cooperation among economic units aimed to promote joint ventures, licence agreements and other forms of coproduction, support of scientific and technological progress and aid for structural changes in Poland's economy. This concerns such fields as industry, agriculture, communications, scientific research and statistics.

The agreement is valid for five years.

After the ceremony, Minister Skubiszewski said: I think that we have reached a good result in the negotiations which were held by the previous government and this has to be stressed with recognition. The document is a vital step leading towards overcoming European divisions. In form of this treaty we have contributed to the building of one Europe. Roland Dumas said that the agreement creates grounds for future economic cooperation. The areas involved embrace mining, agriculture, industry, food aid, transport, communications, telecommunications and the protection of natural environment.

Turning to representatives of the Polish Government, Dumas said that he has come to Warsaw to wish on behalf of all EC states successes in projects aimed to reform Poland's economy.

Minister Swiecicki said that in the final reckoning the importance of the agreement will depend on the results of its implementation. The minister stressed he highly assessed the provision included in the agreement saying that one of the goals of our cooperation is the facilitation of the restructuring of Poland's economy. Next, the minister added that Poland wishes to contribute to the building of the common European home and that Poland's openness to the world serves this goal. This is an inalienable element of deep economic and political reforms taking place in Poland.

Meet With Jaruzelski

LD1909194489 Warsaw PIP in English
1829 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 19—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today EC representatives: Chairman of the EC Council of Ministers Roland Dumas and Vice-chairman of the EC Commission Frank Andriessen in connection with signing of the agreement on trade and economic cooperation between Poland and the EC.

The guests briefed the president on the results of the negotiations, content of the agreement and prospects for development of relations with the EC. The president stressed Poland's interest in possibilities for development of comprehensive international cooperation, economic one included, covering the whole European continent.

Present at the meeting were: Minister of State Jozef Czyrek, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Professor Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki.

Also today President Jaruzelski received Roland Dumas as minister of state for foreign affairs of the Republic of France.

Referring to President Mitterrand's visit to Poland last June, Minister Dumas briefed Wojciech Jaruzelski on the state and prospects for development of the French-Polish cooperation.

President Jaruzelski pointed to the significance and possibilities of broader Polish-French cooperation in the sphere of building new political and socio-economic relations in Europe.

Minister Skubiszewski took part in the meeting.

Give Press Conference

LD1909215189 Warsaw PAP in English
2040 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 19—The EC representatives Roland Dumas and Frans Andriessen met today, on the last day of their Polish stay, with newsmen at a press conference.

Roland Dumas told newsmen that as French foreign minister he used his Polish visit as an opportunity to present to the Polish Government a French programme on assistance for Poland. The programme consists of eight concrete proposals aiming at the strengthening of bilateral cooperation of France and Poland.

Andriessen described the Warsaw agreement as the beginning of the process leading, among other things, towards facilitating the restructurization of Poland's economy, adding that the EC's intention is to swiftly start work on programmes for promotion and protection of investments and for easier access of Polish goods to West European markets.

Dumas emphasized that France, currently presiding over the communities, will do her best to implement the agreement promptly, adding that the annulment of Polish export quota may be implemented earlier than it is envisaged by the agreement, which depends on moves taken by both sides.

Discussing the possibility of Poland's becoming an associate member of the EC, Andriessen said that it is not the legal form of the Polish-EC relations that counts, but their essence. Poland's EC membership is today a matter of secondary importance, although this possibility cannot be excluded in future, added he.

Michnik Views Historic Change in East Europe

AU2009080189 Vienna Television Service in German
1907 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Interview with Adam Michnik, adviser of Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, by Raimund Loew in Kiev; date not given; in French with superimposed German translation—recorded]

[Text] [Loew] Poland is at historic crossroads. Why do you take the time to come to Kiev in these important days?

[Michnik] That is easy to answer, because this is a historic moment for all of Europe, not only for central Europe. It is the Ukrainian people's national renaissance. I am absolutely convinced that it is necessary for

Solidarity and Poland to be present here. That is our duty toward history. We are now witnessing the development of new relations between nations in the post-communist era. In addition, my love of the Ukraine does not mean that I reject the Russians. Therefore, my first visit of the Soviet Union was to Moscow, because I am convinced that the key to real democratization of East Europe is in Moscow, and that there are supporters of this process of change in Moscow, as well.

Ministry Investigating Romanian Border Incident

LD1909230189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1600 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Here is a communique from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ]:

In connection with the conduct of the officials of the Romanian border service against a group of Polish citizens on the night of 12-13 September at the Romanian-Hungarian border crossing, the consular department of MSZ is asking persons who participated in this event to send a written account of what happened to the address of the MSZ. [passage omitted]

Shamir's Polish Anti-Semitism Comments Refuted

AU2009081589 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 15-17 Sep p 2

[Adam Michnik editorial: "After Shamir's Comments"]

[Text] Replying to questions on Poland and Polish anti-Semitism, Israeli Premier Yitzhak Shamir said: "They suck it in with their mother's milk. It is something that is so strongly a part of their tradition and mentality as is their hatred of the Russians."

Let us leave aside the rather primitive gloss of Polish-Russian relations. Premier Shamir is a public figure and his utterances are intended to have particular meaning. Let us then publicly state that we consider his opinion to be untruthful and inflammatory. Every such sweeping generalization is by its very nature false. The extension of negative traits of certain individuals, or circles, over whole nations only succeed in producing intolerance and hatred.

Words have their weight after all. They serve people to reach agreement with one another and should not be used to sow hatred. The words of the Israeli premier are an insult to all Poles. They are also an insult to Polish anti-Semites. They did not in all honesty imbibe this anti-Semitism with their "mother's milk," but have become victims of it through their own moral, intellectual, or character defects. What in fact is anti-Semitism? It is nothing more than the belief that Jewish negative traits have been "suckled up with their own mother's milk" and that they are condemned to these traits simply because of this reason.

It is impossible to recount the whole history of Polish-Jewish relations, and the history of anti-Semitism in Poland. Our mutual history has produced many mutual

resentments. However, no such resentments can possibly justify such an insulting opinion being cast over the whole Polish nation. One more thing. Premier Shamir's statement insults Polish democracy and plays straight into the hands of the Polish anti-Semites. Since, according to Premier Shamir, all Poles are supposed to be like that, their abberation ceases to be the shameful factor that sets them apart.

In the last few months certain worrying aspects have crept into Polish-Jewish relations. Breaches of the Geneva agreement, which concerns the Carmelite convent in Auschwitz; the incursion of seven Jews led by Rabbi Weiss into the convent grounds; the clumsy and rather tactless statement made by the Polish primate at Jasna Gora; and the absurd reply by the Israeli Premier—all the above, have created a situation where the dialogue is fast becoming a vicious conflict. One of my colleagues has suggested that all this looks like a secret conspiracy between Rabbi Weiss and Professor Maciej Giertych with the aim of harming the process of democracy in Poland. Let us not believe in world conspiracies; Jewish, masonic, or otherwise. We must believe in good old common sense. Let us not forget that hatred, be it anti-Semitic or anti-Polish, cannot be "suckled in with one's mother's milk." Hatred is always a product of one's own ignorance or immorality.

New Ministers Meet With Jaruzelski

*AU2009085889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
14 Sep 89 pp 1,2*

[Text] PAP—Almost 24 hours after its appointment, the new Council of Ministers was received by President Wojciech Jaruzelski in the Belvedere Palace on 13 September. Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki introduced the new ministers to him.

After this, the host and his guests proceeded to the conference room, where Wojciech Jaruzelski delivered a speech.

Afterwards, Premier Mazowiecki spoke. The government is aiming its first steps toward the president, he said. This not just a formality, but an act of recognition, for my cooperation with the president was instrumental in forming the new government. I repeat what I told the president during my first meeting with him after my appointment, that the government can only succeed with his help. At this historic moment, we are counting on good cooperation, and that is why we are here.

Referring to the premier's Sejm speech, in which he underlined the government's subservience to the Polish *raison d'etat*, Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said that a coalition-type cabinet should pose no difficulties in concrete situations, though in practical situations it is often difficult to say exactly what the *raison d'etat* is. This is a task not just for foreign policy. Such a policy must be backed by a strong state, and that is the chief link between economic and foreign policy. A proper coordination of cooperation between all political

and constitutional forces may also have a major effect on foreign policy. From this point of view, major responsibility rests on the president and on the Sejm and Senate.

Leszek Balcerowicz, minister of finance, said that the economy, on which everything depends in the long run, is in a dramatic state. We are in an exceptional situation. On the one hand, we have expanded possibilities for institutional changes, but on the other hand we have restricted funds.

Tadeusz Syryjczyk, minister of industry, presented statistics which illustrated the present situation well. He said that there are several million zlotys worth of production assets for every Pole, but at the same time Poland's debts work out at about \$2,000 for every Pole. Therefore we do not have enough material resources to satisfy justified demands concerning social security, the standard of living, culture, and education.

Agriculture may play the greatest role in improving the economic situation, said Czeslaw Janicki, minister of agriculture, forestry, and food industries. But first, agriculture must receive better support from the remaining economic spheres.

The meeting also discussed the warm social climate that surrounds the new government, as illustrated by a proposal by farmers in the Greater Poland region that they would donate this year's harvest in exchange for a loan, to be repaid next year in the form of new, stronger zlotys. Justice Minister Aleksander Bentkowski asked that the legal-financial possibility of implementing this declaration be created.

Artur Balazs, minister-member of the Council of Ministers, said that farmers from the rural district of Dlugoleka and belonging to Private Farmers "Solidarity" had gone even further than that. They had pledged to donate their crops as a gesture of support for the government, whereby each farmer would donate what he thought fit.

Adam Wieladek, minister of transport, shipping, and communications, said that hopes are aroused by the end of strikes. One must not forget the promises made to some professions. Now they must be implemented by means of suitable solutions.

The present situation is exerting enormous pressure on us, said Witold Trzeciakowski, minister-member of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Economic Council. In order to survive the winter, we must also survive the next few weeks, when higher pensions should begin to be paid. The treasury is empty. It would be wrong to pursue the present policy of paying out money that has no backing and receiving extra credits. We must present this problem in clear terms.

Regardless of how present problems are solved, proper conditions for the functioning of the state in the future must be created now, said Adam Wieladek. Nothing must interfere with work for the future.

Jabn Janowski, head of the Office for Scientific-Technological Progress, said that sociopolitical changes, which were supposed to be gradual, have been faster than planned. However, one cannot say the same about the economy. We must do everything we can not to exacerbate the sociocultural regression that is already occurring.

Izabella Cywinska, minister of culture and art, said that Polish culture is capable of representing our country much more honorably than the economy.

Naturally, the meeting also discussed matters that were more detailed, but no less socially important. Andrzej Kosiniak-Kamysz, minister of health and social welfare, considered preventing the spread of AIDS in Poland to be such a matter.

I must declare that there is a kind of programmatic conflict between my ministry and the ministries of industry, agriculture, and construction, said Bronislaw Kaminski, minister of the environment and natural resources.

Marcin Swiecicki, minister of foreign economic cooperation, said: The new government shall act in two basic spheres—a restructuring of the economic system, and an enhancement of democratic reforms. It has a chance of fulfilling the proposals made at the "roundtable." However, we are faced with a struggle with the present situation. One can have an excellent program, wonderful leaders, and all the conditions necessary to win a war, but one can still lose a battle. Therefore I think it is time to reverse the question often asked by society: "What does the government intend to do for society?" and ask instead: "What does society intend to do for the government?"

Finally, President W. Jaruzelski thanked everyone for sharing their views and expressing their concern for the new government's work. He considered this meeting to be a particularly important one at a time when, as he put it, we are on the threshold of difficulties that we have to overcome. He said: Not only have you indicated needs, but you have also given examples of society's dedication and approval. That is a major material and psychological factor. The situation is indeed very difficult, but on the other hand the optimism created by present changes permits hopes for a reactivation of the energies that are dormant within society.

Referring to the examples of good, effective work, the president noted that we tend to generalize the feeling of powerlessness, but we fail to notice that some regions produce better results than others under identical conditions. He illustrated this point by means of examples furnished by Leszno Voivodeship, where he has just stayed. He also pointed out that there are some communities that are in particular danger, and he called for extra concern and increased, even extraordinary, resources to help them. He cited Lodz as an example of such a community.

Discussing the international aspects of our situation, the president pointed out that Poland is following a path that

may stabilize the situation in Europe and the world. Therefore, he said, I think it is worth cooperating with Poland, without treating this as a means of achieving desired objectives. He also mentioned debts, stressing that we have already repaid billions of dollars (\$43-\$44 billion), this figure being the result of fluctuating interest rates, but we still have almost \$40 billion to pay. Therefore we have a moral and economic entitlement to receive the desired foreign aid. Our reforms are another reason why we should receive it. However, no one is going to "carry" a nation of almost 40 million people over its difficulties. We have to overcome our difficulties ourselves. Today there is a historic chance of achieving that.

The president declared his firm support for the government, thanking the premier for what he had done so far. That is already a lot, he said. He wished the government the success that the entire nation expects.

Jaruzelski Addresses New Government 13 Sep

AU1909142989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
14 Sep 89 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic, at a reception for the new Polish Government at the Belvedere Palace in Warsaw on 13 September]

[Text] I would like to welcome you, Mr Premier. I would like to welcome and offer my sincerest congratulations to all the members of the Council of Ministers. I highly value this meeting, which is taking place at what is such a special time for Poland.

It would surely be no exaggeration to say that no other government in the contemporary world has attracted so much attention. It is understandable that the changes that Poland is making to the socialist system should arouse interest and even an emotional reaction, a varied emotional reaction.

Someone may consider the fact that we are sitting here today to be some kind of joke played by history, and someone else may consider it to be a part of the logic of history, but what it undoubtedly represents is a great historical experiment and a great opportunity for the nation. The most important thing today is that the experiment should succeed. However, there are also fears that it may fail. Nevertheless, the prevailing mood is one of hope, and there is a growing belief that the experiment will succeed and that the desired breakthrough will be attained.

Unprecedented opportunities have emerged.

Viewing things in very strict terms, although the times and circumstances cannot be considered comparable, a similar opportunity, in the sense that there was social support, emerged from 1956 to 57. Unfortunately, those opportunities were not exploited. The situation today is a new one. Experience has made us wiser, and internal

and external circumstances are different. We have all changed! The world has changed!

What has to be done if the experiment is to succeed? The premier's speech, which we all listened to very intently, gives an answer in terms of direction. A great opportunity will be provided by the consistent implementation of what was announced by the premier.

Without in any way diminishing the importance of any other area of collective life (I must be careful here if I am to avoid being called a caveman or a savage by Mrs Izabella Cywinska), I nevertheless think that everything will be determined by the economic situation. The basic social agreement that exists on this issue, combined with the gust of optimism provided by the appointment of a new government, already provides a important plus at the outset.

However, I would like to share some of my experience as a veteran, not only as a war veteran, but also as a veteran of government. Every government has a honeymoon period (I am not thinking of a month, because I only had a week). There is a chance that this government, which intends to take on something of a stuntman's challenge, will have a relatively long one. However, as we know, this cannot go on forever. Everyday affairs have to be tackled and the difficulties presented by reality addressed head on. One cannot have something for nothing. So, it will be difficult to please everyone, and public opinion is fickle. The point is not to allow public confidence to descend to a critical level or, above all, to a level at which the effectiveness of actions cannot be perceived.

There is general agreement on the causes behind the current state of the economy as well as on the paths leading out of the crisis, but there are often great differences regarding interpretations. Simplifications of a black and white kind are often made and, what is worse, hasty judgments are passed, ones that are often extreme and naive.

I have often said that I believe that every reform has a price, and the more profound a reform is, the more it costs. Every easing of the rusty brakes, which is something that all three previous governments have done to a lesser or greater degree, inevitably results in the emergence of new factors in social and economic life. Not all of them enjoy public approval.

The government will come into contact with many problems in this area. At least one such problem will be that while some benefit from freedom of action in order to stretch their wings, display initiative, and increase their wealth and that of society, others perceive this as acceptance of scheming rapacity that preys on disequilibrium.

So, the question is, how can one effect a fundamental, radical increase in economic efficiency while simultaneously safeguarding the institutional foundations of social justice? This is one of the most serious problems

facing the government, political parties, and all of that section of society that shapes opinion.

All sociopolitical forces should give the government their resolute support in the search for the best possible solutions. To bank on the failure of the new government would be immoral and disastrous. This would be just as unacceptable as banking on the forces that have governed until now being wiped off the sociopolitical scene. Only a struggle against extremist tendencies and only national accord will give the government, and thus Poland, a chance.

Today, it is a waste of time to think about who has gained and who has lost, because of the changes that have taken place. So far, democracy and Poland are leading 1:0.

Against this background, I would like to call on all of the political forces represented in the government to make efficient use of the valuable fund of knowledge and experience that has been accumulated by the state and economic administrations over a period of more than 40 years. We are, of course, familiar with various kinds of bureaucratic excesses and deficiencies. However, they should not serve as the basis for generalizations.

That is why I welcomed the premier's position on competence being the main criterion in the use of personnel. I believe that in practice personnel will be loyal to the constitutional authorities of this country and that they will be an ally of the government in its struggle for higher efficiency in the functioning of the economy and the organs of the state.

The government, the Council of Ministers, still faces a whole group of fundamental questions. This particularly applies to the question of which current solutions should be rejected, which solutions should continued to be applied, and which ones should be created from scratch?

The answers to these questions, and practice in particular, call for courage and prudence. It calls for the avoidance of half measures, frequent delays, and procrastination, as well as various forms of fetishism and arbitrariness. We have paid a very high price for all these things in the past.

There is one more observation that I would like to share with you: A certain law does exist.

Those who are in power are inclined to primarily attribute all of their failures to objective factors, to an "awkward legacy," and to the unfavorable internal and external situation.

On the other hand, there are those who intend to govern or are about to govern and behave in the opposite way by primarily pointing to subjective factors, that is, to the mistakes of their predecessors. I think that the truth lies somewhere in the middle. Every other approach is illusory and, as a result, a trap.

There is one more issue. I welcome what the premier has said about democratization processes strengthening those fundamental conditions of national existence that have for decades borne the succinct name *raison d'état* in our political language. A common and very broad understanding of this concept is currently becoming something very real.

The world is rapidly changing. The process of adapting to these changes must be integrally linked to continuity with respect to the basic premises of national security. This truth became all the more apparent recently, on the 50th anniversary of the invasion of Poland. There are certain truths that will never be subject to revision, such as the isolation of our country at that time and that European policy followed an unfortunate course, which we could not influence in practice.

I am convinced that the new government of the Polish People's Republic will make good use of our foreign and defense policy achievements and assets to date and will add new elements to them that will be of value to the nation and the state.

Finally, in conclusion, I would like to express my support for and readiness to engage in constant cooperation with the new Council of Ministers. At the same time, I would like to express the hope that the new government, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, will be ready to cooperate with me on matters of key importance for our domestic and foreign policies.

Bearing this in mind, I will seek to develop the organs of the office of president in a way that is both economical and, at the same time, ensures pluralist contacts and constructive cooperation.

I sincerely wish that you, Premier Mazowiecki, and all your colleagues in "Mazowiecki's government," which has already made its first decisions, will be accorded an appropriate place in the history textbooks and that you will go down in the history of our fatherland as having performed a creditable service.

New Department Secretaries Appointed

AU1909170789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
14 Sep 89 p 2

[PAP headline: "Chronicle of Cadre Changes"]

[Text] In line with his Sejm speech, the chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed Jerzy Kolodziejewski to the post of secretary of state in the Council of Ministers' Office of Regional State Administration.

He appointed Boleslaw Kulski to the post of secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Jerzy Kolodziejewski was born in 1933 into a family of intelligentsia in Nowa Wies, Bydgoszcz Voivodship. He is a graduate of Gdansk Polytechnic. He holds the title of professor and has a doctorate in technology. He began his professional career in 1958 as a designer at Gdansk

Polytechnic and then, until 1970, he worked in urban planning units of the Gdansk Voivodship People's Council. He was head of the voivodship regional planning office for 10 years. In 1970 he returned to Gdansk Polytechnic, where he became department head in the Institute of Architecture and Urban Planning and was later appointed assistant professor. From 1972 until 1975 he was principal planner and head of the department of coastal area regional planning. He spent the next 2 years as director of the regional planning department of the Council of Ministers' Planning Commission in Gdansk. In 1977 he became deputy voivode of Gdansk, and in 1979 he became the Gdansk voivode. He was released from this post in 1982, following the submission of his resignation, and then he took up academic work at Gdansk Polytechnic.

He is married and has one daughter.

Boleslaw Kulski was born in 1934 into a working class family in Gryzynka (Leszno Voivodship). He is a graduate of Odessa University and holds a master's degree in history. He began his professional career in 1957 in the youth movement. He began working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1967 and held the posts of senior counselor, deputy director, and department director. He also served as first and second secretary at the Polish People's Republic military mission in West Berlin and as a counselor with plenipotentiary ministerial rank at the Polish People's Republic Embassies in Vienna and Bonn. He has been an under secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 1988. He is married.

Labor Minister Kuron Outlines Tasks

LD1909201389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1800 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Statement by Jacek Kuron, minister of labor and social policy; no video available—live]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] Ladies and gentlemen, here is the announced meeting with Jacek Kuron, minister of labor and social policy. Minister, because I know you would rather make a statement than answer questions, the cameras and microphones are at your disposal for the next few minutes.

[Kuron] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. I'll tell you how I started work in this ministry. I came into this office on Tuesday and the first job I got, and not the only one for the week either, was to find 55 billion [currency not specified] for the State Insurance Office by Monday, in fact, I was to find it in a couple of days or else the agricultural pensions wouldn't be paid out. This was a new task for me as regards the scale of it, but an old one as regards the task itself—I had to borrow to live to the end of the month! So, I quickly took out a very short-term loan—I won't say where. Now I have to take out another loan quickly for a somewhat longer term, to pay that back, and so on and so on, until the moment the provisional budget settles things somehow. Well, the provisional budget will settle it badly, let's say so right

away; for as a result—maybe I'm betraying a state secret here, I haven't got used to keeping them yet—it will be necessary to print money. [passage omitted]

The problem of factories which are in decline and of unemployment remains. Well, there may not be unemployment. We are dealing with a situation where for 40 years the economy has been based on a bad, sick structure. It squandered labor, resources, and goods, but it didn't produce what it was meant to produce, it didn't produce prosperity. So, now we have to shift forces and resources—easy to say—shift people, who today are working, living and are linked with a factory, to different jobs, to different work. This is a very difficult task.

Of course, it can't be done by force. Factories have to collapse as a result of market forces, as a result of the inability to pay; and we have to prepare a system which will safeguard the employees. What does that mean? First of all, people need to be paid after a factory closes down on a par with their last pay packet. This pay would later decrease, so that finally after a year, we should be able to help people to make a transfer. So, we need a system of information about new workplaces of various kinds; for we have an enormous deficit in the retail trade, in services, in small-scale industry producing for the market. We have to take that road; there's no other way. Nothing will save us from it.

Easily available credit, a training system: here are more immense tasks. Now, if it turns out that we were able to get down to it, to build the whole system, the whole apparatus—and that won't happen without the support of society—then it might turn out that there will be no general unemployment here in Poland; that it will be local, affecting certain groups, and temporary, at any rate. [passage omitted] The idea is for every one of us to be able to find a place for himself here, in Poland, so that the country can thrive and prosper. Thank you very much and goodnight.

Commentary on Interior Ministry Budget

PM1909133489 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
9 Sep 89 p 3

[Wojciech Markiewicz commentary: "Riot Helmets with Visors, or the Internal Affairs Ministry Budget"]

[Text] During heated parliamentary debates, as they sought remedies for the crumbling state budget, opposition deputies and senators kept pointing to two state sectors—national defence and internal affairs—as possible sources of savings, and demanded 20 per cent reductions in their budgets. On the other hand, representatives of the internal affairs sector (we shall discuss the National Defense Ministry [MON] budget in one of our next issues) insisted that there could be no question of reducing their budget at all. On the contrary, unless resources for internal security are increased in proportion to the triple-figure inflation we could face a situation in which we have neither the manpower nor the resources with which to fight crime.

So how much does the Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW] cost the taxpayer? How many people are employed in it, how much do they earn, and what perks do they get? The MSW budget is determined by the Budget Act, the rest by the 31 July 1985 Act on the Employ of the Security Service [SB] and Citizens' Militia [MO] Officers.

The Graph Curve Goes Up... And Comes Down

The 1989 Budget Act initially laid down the MSW expenditure as Z399 billion. In view of rising prices an amendment was made this April, bringing the budget up to Z458 billion. At the end of August, in view of rising inflation, the leadership of the sector applied to the Minister of Finance for a further increase of Z116 billion. Consequently the whole sum comes to Z658 billion.

In absolute terms the graph curve is definitely going up, then. But if we look at MSW expenditure as a percentage of the state budget, the curve is seen to be going down. In 1987 MSW expenditure came to 3.2 percent of the state budget, in 1988 3.1 percent, and for 1989 it was planned to represent 2.7 percent. However, back in 1970 it only totaled 2.1 percent. On the other hand we do not know to what an extent the MSW budget was camouflaged at the time.

Today 55 percent of the sector's resources is spent on pay and associated expenditures.

However, opposition deputies and senators doubt whether these figures reflect the true costs borne by the state to maintain the sector. For example, if more than 50 percent of an enterprise's output goes to the MON or the MSW, the enterprise is classified as belonging to the defense industry and eligible for tax concessions. And that is not all. The sector purchases many goods and articles at lower prices than those paid by other consumers. This is so, for example, in the case of the trucks manufactured at the Starachowice plant. Such concessions come out of the state's pocket and constitute yet another outlay that is, as it were, not entered in the books.

In accordance with the Council of Ministers Resolution No 295 of 1971, officers' meals at the Konsumy canteens are subsidized by the Domestic Market Ministry, since the MSW has no social welfare funds of its own.

Passport fees provide an additional source of revenue. In 1988 these came to Z4 billion; by the end of August this year, they already brought in Z37 billion. Admittedly, this money is at the finance minister's disposal, but so far he has always released some or all of this revenue to the MSW. To be exact, the figure should be reduced by passport paper and printing costs and by the paper and printing costs of the domestic identity cards, the issue of which brings no revenue to the sector. The sector spends around Z1.5 billion on the printing of passports and identity cards alone.

Unlike other employees of the budget-financed sectors, MSW officers do not have to pay national insurance contributions to the Social Insurance Agency [ZUS]. Nevertheless, they are entitled to take early retirement.

on which they draw old-age pensions equivalent to 100 percent preretirement salary.

Production for the MSW is not subsidized, maintains Colonel Franciszek Jozwiak, deputy chief of the MSW Materials Procurement Service. If we buy anything cheaper it is because we deal directly with the producer. That way we avoid wholesale and retail markups, that is, we cut out the middleman. Konsumy meals will remain subsidized only until 31 December. Our revenue from passports cannot be relied on, as the finance minister may allocate the money to the sector or again he may not. In any case, it is only this year that any significant amounts of money started coming in. Finally, the question of ZUS contributions. If we were to deduct them from our salaries, our budget would have to be increased by an equivalent amount. This would only mean moving the money from one pocket to another, as it were.

MSW employees are entitled to early retirement in consideration of the nature and the rigors of the service. They have the highest incidence of heart diseases and neuroses. Retired officers do not tend to live long beyond retirement, neither—unlike pensioners in other professions—do they have opportunities to earn extra money to supplement their income.

Nor can a militiaman supplement his income by charging spot fines. These do not affect his income in any way whatsoever. All the revenue from those fines go directly to local government budgets.

Posts and Employment

According to the Act the sector should employ:

62,276 persons in the MO;
12,819 in the Citizens' Militia Motorized Reserves [ZOMO]
24,390 in the SB;
20,333 in administrative and house and office management posts, and
4,594 in militia academies and colleges, which makes a total of 124,412 officer posts, including:
8,416 persons employed at the Ministry and in central organs.

To these we should add:

2,035 full-time civilian posts;
7,388 Border Guard Troops [WOP] personnel;
2,327 Vistula Units personnel; and
146 MSW ministerial personnel, which together totals 136,308 posts for officers, full-time civilian employees, and military personnel.

These figures do not include the 30,000 part-time, contract, and subcontracted employees paid from a variety of funds, such as messengers, cleaners, drivers, janitors, some of the sector's health service personnel, holiday center staff, and so on. National servicemen serving in the WOP (15,700 men) and MSW units (7,739 men) are also excluded.

On the other hand, not all the posts are filled. Several directorates suffer from a shortage of job applicants. For instance, there are 24.7 percent vacant posts in the ZOMO, 11.2 percent in the MO, and the overall vacancy figure for the sector is 8.7 percent. The worst situation prevails in the larger cities. Warsaw is short of 4,000 uniformed officers.

Clearly, the MSW employment figures are no longer a taboo subject. But not altogether. There is no data on the employees of the intelligence service or the secret services.

It follows from the very definition of these services, says Major Wojciech Garstka, the Minister's press spokesman, that, as they are secret, there is no reason to make information on them available to the public. Western state budgets do not disclose the figures, finances, or any other information concerning such services. The monies for running them are so well camouflaged and come from such unlikely sources that it is not possible to determine their budgets.

As we are on the subject of personnel, it is also worth mentioning the Civic Militia Voluntary Reserve (ORMO). It has 328,510 members and between 100 and 200 persons in administrative posts. The ministry allocates some Z700 million a year toward financing this public organization, which works out at Z1,898 per person. The last issue of uniforms to ORMO members—only 15 percent have uniforms—was 2 years ago. There is simply no money.

How Much Do They Earn?

When it transpired from information published several weeks ago that an officer's average earnings in July amounted to Z208,370, the ensuing uproar was not confined to the Sejm.

All the elements of the remuneration package were automatically included and counted as officers' income, says Colonel Adam Dusza, director of the MSW Finance Department. These include the uniform allowance, the average bonus—which you may or may not get—as well as the meal allowance and the major house repairs refund allowance.

Uniform—If the officer buys it himself, he saves money and at the same time more woollen cloth is left for others on the market, says Col Jozwiak. But today the allowance, set in April at Z14,300 per month, is already out of date. For example, winter boots of the 'scooter' model, cost Z21,000 then, 35,000 in July, and already Z60,000 in September. A cloth greatcoat (Z65,000 in April) or a short coat (Z38,200) will now cost twice as much.

Bonus—This equals 9.1 percent of the average annual pay, that is, in practice, one extra monthly salary. It amounts to an average Z11,000 per month.

Meal Allowance—This was introduced under the martial law and, according to the Ministry, is the only social

welfare benefit available to the officers. They either get it as full board when they are barracked, on a course, or in training, or receive its equivalent in cash. In July this came to Z14,220 per month. This allowance is the only one index-linked to the current rate of inflation. By the end of August it rose to some Z35,000 per month. Because of this the officers received no refund for the so-called ration coupons.

House Repair Allowance—The regulations say that an officer must carry out major repairs to his home once every 5 years. He is refunded the costs of these in annual installments. Last July the repairs refund averaged Z4,000 a month.

With the exception of the house repair allowance, none of the above supplements is taken into account in the calculation of the officers' pensionable salary.

The cash allowance that an officer gets toward the purchase of a uniform cannot be regarded as part of his remuneration. As to the other allowances, even officers themselves have doubts.

Here are some examples of maximum monthly salaries in the sector:

Minister of internal affairs—Z511,800 (no meal allowance);

Departmental director in the rank of brigade general [U.S. equivalent major general], after 35 years' service—Z450,000 plus a meal allowance of some Z35,000, and a higher uniform allowance because of the larger amount of hand-applied braid required;

(All salaries quoted below include the meal allowance and other benefits discussed above, in identical amounts of entitlement)

Head of section at the Ministry in the rank of colonel, after 35 years' service—Z364,500;

Inspector in the rank of lieutenant, after 17 years' service—Z255,500

Voivodship chief in the rank of brigade general, after 35 years' service, in Class 1 voivodship—Z483,500

Voivodship chief in the rank of colonel, after 35 years' service, in Class 3 voivodship—Z437,000;

District Internal Affairs Office chief in the rank of colonel, after 35 years' service, Class 1 voivodship—Z387,000;

District Internal Affairs Office chief in the rank of major, after 29 years' service—Z303,000;

Substation commandant in the rank of junior warrant officer, after 20 years' service—Z222,500;

Beat officer in the rank of staff sergeant, after 17 years' service—Z202,500;

Militiaman in the rank of platoon leader, after 11 years' service—Z186,500;

Militiaman, newly recruited, with secondary education, in the rank of private, also with previous ZOMO service—Z158,000.

The same salary scales apply to SB employees. However, they are additionally entitled to higher education supplements (the majority of them must be university-level graduates) and an operational allowance (between Z2,000 and Z7,000 per month.)

Salaries in the ZOMO are similar, except that a probationary barracked officer in the rank of private gets Z41,600 per month, and in the rank of senior corporal 47,700.

The Perks

The perks are meant to make the job more attractive, says Maj Garstka, to encourage people to take it and to do it. In any case, almost everyone in this country receives different types of perks by virtue of belonging to a certain privileged group or profession.

In addition to the aforementioned 100-percent old-age pension and the salary supplements, an officer is entitled to use the Ministry's health service facilities and receive free medicines for himself and his family. An officer's health is not his personal affair.

The sector's own health service was created so that in the event of mobilization or an alert it could rely on a militarized, rather than civilian, service. It has 3,859 beds at its disposal, that is, 33.6 beds per every 10,000 patients, which places it far behind the state health service, which has 56 beds for every 10,000 patients. MSW officers, too, have to wait 6 months or more for a hospital place.

Once every 5 years in the high season and once every 3 years out of season a militiaman is entitled to subsidized holidays. Until 1 August he paid from Z9,338 for a fortnight's stay in a Class 3 holiday center to Z18,676 in a Class 1 holiday center. After 1 August the prices ranged from Z23,300 to Z46,600, respectively. The full cost of the holidays for those not entitled to a subsidy ranges from Z69,930 to Z116,550. The difference is made up from the sector's fund. Since 1980 militiamen have been receiving family allowances in line with all the other employed persons in the country.

Statutorily an officer is entitled to an apartment after 3 years' service. In practice he has to wait some 7 or 8 years. Today there is a shortfall of 21,000 apartments and 11,000 families are awaiting a home exchange. If an officer receives a flat in a cooperative housing scheme, the Ministry grants him a nonrepayable housing loan of up to 40 percent of the standard building costs, defined in the regulations as between Z59,000 and Z85,000 per square meter. However, in Warsaw today a square meter costs between Z170,000 and Z270,000.

Another perk is the opportunity to join one of the Gwardia sports clubs. To run these clubs costs the sector, that is, the taxpayer, many billions of zlotys, though this expenditure cannot be established with any precision because it is met from local MSW budgets. The central grant-in-aid totals Z400 million. But the Z900 million in

grants-in-aid provided from the MSW budget to... six national minority associations does not even create any perks for anyone. This must be assumed to be a vestige of the bygone days when the authorities preferred to keep their finger on the pulse, by fair means or foul.

As far as other expenditure goes, the WOP and the Vistula Units cost the sector Z66.8 billion, while another Z3.4 billion is spent on the Fire Brigades. This covers the costs of running the Fire Brigades Central Headquarters, the colleges, and the research and development center. Other costs are covered by local budgets.

Uniformed or Plainclothed

Money is short, so it is more and more difficult to buy the proper equipment to enable the militia to operate efficiently. Vehicles that should have been replaced years ago are breaking down (a Star 200 truck costs Z6.7 million, a UAZ jeep imported from the USSR Z4.5 million.) There is not enough money for gasoline and the prospect of the militia's entire transport stock's coming to a standstill in September is quite real. On a different note, 82 percent of the cameras owned by the MSW are 20-year old Start SLRs. On the other hand, there are the stock reserves of ZOMO riot shields (Z4,600 at the old price), riot helmets with visors (Z19,900 old price), and service truncheons (Z595 each—same price).

Organized criminal gangs often have better communications equipment (walkie-talkies) and more efficient cars at their disposal than those supposed to be catching them. Militia statistics indicate that the numbers of robberies, burglaries, assaults, and vehicle thefts are growing. At the same time the detection rate is falling.

According to Sejm deputies and senators, too many resources are being allocated to the repressive and intelligence-gathering services, and not enough to those devoted to maintaining law and order and fighting crime. There are virtually no new militia stations being constructed on new housing estates. On the other hand, voivodship headquarters are often too ostentatious. No adequate working conditions are provided for uniformed militiamen on the ground. And it is they who are leaving the service in considerable numbers. This area of the sector has the largest number of vacancies.

Until recently thousands of SB servicemen were trained and prepared to fight the opposition. Do we still need that kind of apparatus today, in a decreasingly totalitarian country? It should be disbanded and its personnel used to reinforce the law-and-order services which so many officers are leaving these days. Similarly, the costly ORMO should be disbanded as a "relic of Stalinism" and a "strong element of state totalitarianism" (GAZETA WYBORCZA no. 85).

We shall see what comes of the parliamentary debate. It is certain that the sector requires money to be able to operate. And with the inflation ever rising it will need more and more money. It is also certain that the principles of the MSW operation will have to change. For

example, is there anything that prevents us from decentralizing the financing of the militia so that, for instance, a parish commandant's budget would be financed by the local people's council? Then the councillors would be able to exercise direct control over the work of the militia officers. Furthermore, why should the MSW not give up the maintenance of the counterintelligence service (the Army ought to tackle this), the issuing of passports, the vetting of candidates for military colleges, the running of "property" operations [inspection of order, hygiene, and maintenance standards of public and business premises], the collection and carting about of drunks, or the escorting of prisoners? Elsewhere in the world there are municipal police organizations, whereas we have municipal order services functioning in our country. The practice of cramming everything together prevents the taxpayers from keeping an effective check on how their money is spent.

PZPR Seeks Members' Opinions on Elections

LD1909230889 Warsaw PAP in English
1650 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 19—The Central Committee of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] turned to the party's members and candidates to voice their opinions on principles for choosing delegates to the 11th PUWP Congress. There are considerable expectations, particularly in factory party units, the CC [Central Committee] underlined in its stand on the issue, for the elections of delegates to be held on deeply democratic principles, possibly in the form of direct ballot, in specially formed constituencies, by all party members.

The Central Committee called on PUWP members and candidates to answer a number of questions, among them:

"Q: Are you, comrade, for:

1. A change of electoral regulations to considerably extend possibilities of direct election of delegates for the 11th congress?

2. Elections being held on the hitherto principles, that is by the basic party units and conferences at subsequent levels?

Q: Are you, comrade, for:

1. Changes in the programme and statute, while maintaining the name of the PUWP?

2. Transformation of the PUWP into a new party with a new programme, statute and name?"

The polling should be held in the basic party units by September 27, 1989. Voivodship committees will define methods for conducting it.

Rakowski Addresses Lodz Party Aktivs*AU2009095889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
15 Sep 89 p 3*

[Text] Addressing a meeting of party aktivs in Lodz on 13 September, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], related to remarks made during the debate about cadres. Every party forms its own politicians. There are many examples in the West (Wehner, Andreotti) showing that politicians can exercise leadership functions for years without anyone thinking badly of them. So why are people criticizing Czyrek and Barcikowski today? Because they chose to become politicians? Because they were in the Politburo for many years? As far as a knowledge of foreign policy and diplomatic ability is concerned, Czyrek is one of our best people. It takes years to acquire this knowledge. Barcikowski? He was born to a family of workers in a cooperative, so he knows this subject matter very well. He has just been given a managerial post in the cooperative movement. So why the objections?

We can prevent unsuccessful people from moving from one post to another, but let us respect our expert politicians, said M. Rakowski.

Speaking about cooperation between the Central Committee and PZPR Deputies Club, M. Rakowski said: The Club ought to be influential. It is capable of playing a great role in the process of party reforms. The door to my office is always open to deputies. Many rumors about discord between the Central Committee and the Club are exaggerated. Of course, differences in view occur from time to time, but that is beside the point. The opposition would like to see our Club disbanded, for it is a major force.

M. Rakowski confirmed that the PZPR places national objectives above its own parochial ones. That is why it supports the new government. Will this support be permanent? That depends on the program, said M. Rakowski. In any case, there is no question of the party pulling out of the

factories, as some "Solidarity" activists would like. Any attempt to remove party factory committees from factories may meet with resistance, as has already happened in Silesia. The work forces need the party, it has something to fight for. Notice how some "Solidarity" activists have recently made a 180 degree turn in their opinion about workers self-management bodies. The party must defend these structures. Let us reserve for ourselves the right to criticize the government. Every time someone harms the principles of the system, this should be pointed out loudly, said M. Rakowski.

When will the 11th congress take place? The 15th plenum will decide. Personally, however, I think the earliest feasible date is February 1990. An earlier congress would be nothing but a show. After all, there are many issues to discuss before the congress can take place. One of these issues is how to appoint delegates. Many comrades insist that delegates be chosen according to the programs that they present. There has to be sufficient time to acquaint oneself with these programs. Apart from that, a broad reactivation of all party bodies is necessary prior to the congress. Unless the "base" is reactivated, the congress will not fulfill its task.

Transport Workers Continue Strike in Torun*LD1909215589 Warsaw PAP in English
1608 GMT 19 Sep 89*

[Text] Torun, Sept. 19—A strike launched yesterday by workers of the local branch of the trade transport enterprise was continued here today.

The negotiations on pay issues between the management and representatives of the OPZZ (All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions) and "Solidarnosc" trade unions have been broken as the strikers' pay claims exceed financial capacities of the enterprise.

After some hesitation, members of the factory commission of the "Solidarnosc" joined the strike committee while the OPZZ trade union has resolved to stay away from it.

Stalin's 'Secret Protocol' Deemed 'Illegal'

AU1809142589 Bucharest AGERPRES
in English 1338 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Commentary by Ryszard Drecki: "17 September"]

[Text] If 1 September 1939 was the beginning of a cataclysm for Poland, which was to become a cataclysm for the whole world, 17 September of the same year symbolizes a further blow that was dealt our nation, one whose consequences were enormous and tragic, and are felt to this very day, at least in the historical-psychological sphere.

The Red Army's crossing of the eastern borders of a Poland that was still fighting, although it had already been militarily defeated and abandoned by its Western allies, was one of the most strictly observed taboos in our country for entire decades. If it was discussed at all, then it was discussed in subdued tones and without the whole truth being told. Today the basic contours of this issue are emerging from the darkness with increasing clarity.

There is no doubt that the basis for this act of aggression 50 years ago was the conclusion of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact less than a month earlier, and the secret protocol in particular, which set out "spheres of interest" for the USSR and the Third Reich among the states of Eastern Europe "in the event of territorial and political changes in the territory of these states." The agreement violated a whole series of international legal norms that were binding at that time, such as the principles of respect for sovereignty, respect for the independence and territorial integrity of states and the principle that "previously concluded pacts were binding" (a nonaggression pact between the Polish Republic and the USSR was in force at that time), as well as certain multilateral international conventions that were concluded in the 1920's and 1930's. That is why we consider the Soviet-German agreements to have been illegal and to have had no validity from the outset.

In political and moral terms, the implementation of these agreements meant the joint participation of these two states in the partitioning and annexation of what were other sovereign states at that time, and the joint annexation and division of Poland.

The day of 17 September is a date that has impressed itself deeply in the consciousness of the Polish people, especially as the entry of the Soviet forces was soon followed by mounting repression and the perpetration of mass crimes that affected millions of Poles. We should honor the memory of the victims of those repressions, just as we should honor the memory of those Polish soliders who fell in those border regions during the final days of September, during battles that they, as a rule, neither started nor sought to impose on others. The truth about these events is not only something that we owe the victims of those repressions, but is also one of the important tasks for freeing Polish-Soviet relations of the burden that remains from the Stalinist era.

While speaking out in support of the truth, it is also necessary to debunk the legends or myths, and the distortions or wrong conclusions that easily arise under such circumstances. So it has to be stated with all due emphasis that the illegal hostile act directed against Poland on 17 September and the Soviet-German treaty on friendship and borders that was signed on 28 September as a result of it, the so-called "fourth partition of Poland," cannot in any way affect the borders that exist today. Poland's present-day borders stem from another course of events, are the product of allied and Polish-Soviet agreement, and are a permanent element of European stability.

The thesis that seeks to take a relativist view of the guilt of Hitler's Germany by arguing that it was only possible for the Third Reich to invade Poland and start the war once the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact had been signed has to be rejected. One can mention at this point a serious West German article that appeared recently and, providing documentary evidence, advanced a view whose essence is as follows: The agreement with Stalin did, of course, make things easier for Hitler, but the Nazi dictator would have struck, regardless of whether an agreement had been reached or not.

Legends that distort the truth are just as damaging as silence or falsehood with respect to this and similar issues. In fact, what emerges from the objective truth is concern for Poland's national interest and the Poles' national dignity, and the elimination of all those things that disrupted our relations with the Soviet state and its peoples, to which history was to assign, not long after the tragic events of 50 years ago, the role of liberating the Poles from Nazi occupation and of being Poland's first ally, and the guarantor of its security and of what Poland possessed in the new form that it assumed at its rebirth.

Barbulescu Receives CPSU Delegation

AU1609182289 Bucharest AGERPRES
in English 1557 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 16/9/1989—Over September 11-16, a delegation of CPSU activists, led by A.F. Ponomarev, member of the CC [Central Committee] of the CPSU, first secretary of the Belgorod Regional Committee of the CPSU, paid an experience-swap visit to Romania upon an invitation extended by the CC of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party].

The delegation conducted talks at the headquarters of the CC of the RCP and of the Timis and Constanta County Committees of the RCP, and visited state and cooperative farming units, research institutes and socio-cultural units in Bucharest and in the counties of Timis and Constanta.

At the end of the visit, the delegation of CPSU activists were received by Vasile Barbulescu, secretary of the CC of the RCP. The talk conducted on the occasion, which passed in a warm, friendly atmosphere, was attended by Y.M. Tyazhelnikov, USSR ambassador in Bucharest.

Balkan Trade Union Conference Held in Bucharest*AU1509192189 Bucharest AGERPRES
in English 1815 GMT 15 Sep 89*

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 15/9/1989—Bucharest was the venue of the fourth conference of the Power Workers' Trade unions from Balkan countries. During the debates, extensive opinions and information were exchanged on the development of power industry in the countries attending the conference and the contribution trade unions make to the progress of that important branch of the national economy, and the concerns of trade unions to continuously improve the working people's working and living conditions were underscored.

The participants showed that the trade unions could, through specific forms of action and a broad mobilization of the masses of working people, of public opinion in general, contribute substantially to the creation of a climate of political and economic collaboration in the Balkans, to favor the settlement of the questions of concern to the working people.

Ceausescu Greets Zhivkov on Anniversary of Ties*AU2009080989 Bucharest SCINTEIA
in Romanian 17 Sep 89 p 5*

[Message from Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on "The 110th Anniversary of the Establishment of Diplomatic Ties Between Romania and Bulgaria"]

[Text] To Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

Esteemed Comrade Zhivkov: On the 110th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and Bulgaria—an event with profound significance in the history of the relations between our countries and peoples, and an event that is greatly valued by us—I convey warm greetings and best wishes to you and to the friendly Bulgarian people.

Friendly relations, based on respect, mutual esteem, solidarity, and mutual assistance, were established between the Romanian people and the Bulgarian people a long time ago. The history of our peoples is rich in great events of joint struggle against foreign domination and oppression and for freedom, independence, and the defense of the national identity.

In the years of socialist construction, the traditional Romanian-Bulgarian relations have continuously progressed, developed, and expanded for the benefit of our neighborly countries and people, which actively cooperate and collaborate for their unflinching advancement on the road of social progress and well-being.

I express my belief that, by working in the spirit of the talks we held and the understandings we reached, and through joint efforts, the many-sided ties between our countries, parties, and peoples will continue to develop, in the interest of the cause of socialism, peace, and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe, and throughout the world.

Esteemed Comrade Zhivkov, I would like to extend to you and to the friendly Bulgarian people wishes for new successes in the work of building the socialist society and in raising your country to increasingly higher levels of progress and prosperity.

Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Economic Commission Session With PRC Starts*AU1509190689 Bucharest AGERPRES
in English 1813 GMT 15 Sep 89*

["Session of the Romanian-Chinese Governmental Commission of Economic and Technical Collaboration"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 15/9/1989—On Friday, September 15, the proceedings opened in Bucharest of the tenth session of the Romanian-Chinese Governmental Commission of Economic and Technical Collaboration.

The two delegations, led by Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister of Romania, and Zou Jiahua, minister of machine-building industry and electronics industry, analyse, in the spirit of the understandings and decisions reached at top level, the course of economic relations between Romania and China in the period elapsed since the previous session. At the same time, new possibilities and ways are looked into to lead to the further development of economic, technical and scientific collaboration and cooperation in areas of mutual interest, to the expansion and diversification of mutual commodity exchanges.

Present was Wang Jinqing, ambassador of the People's Republic of China to Romania.

Chinese Military Delegation's Visit Reviewed*AU1509175189 Bucharest AGERPRES
in English 1653 GMT 15 Sep 89*

["Romanian Visit by a Chinese Military Delegation"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 15/9/1989—Over 7-15 September 1989, a military delegation led by Colonel General Guo Linxiang, deputy head of the General Political Direction of the Chinese People's Army of Liberation paid a visit to Romania to exchange experience in combat training and political work in the Army.

While in Romania, the guests were received by Colonel General Vasile Milea, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], minister of national defense. The guests were also received by Lieutenant General Ilie Ceausescu, deputy national defense minister and secretary of the Higher Political Council of the Army. During these meetings, stress was laid on the traditional friendly links between the Romanian Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party, between the Romanian and Chinese peoples and the two countries' armies which develop continuously in the spirit of summit understandings.

The Chinese military delegation exchanged experience with some party organs of military commands and learning institutions and at the Cluj and Constanta County committees and Cimpulung town committee of the RCP and visited military units and learning institutions, economic and tourist units, socio-cultural establishments in Bucharest and the country over.

Ceausescu Greets Pinochet on National Day

AU1909172589 Bucharest SCINTEIA
in Romanian 17 Sep 89 p 5

[Message from Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, president of the Republic of Chile, on that country's national day]

[Text] To Mr Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, Captain General, President of the Republic of Chile:

The 179th anniversary of the national day of the Republic of Chile gives me the pleasant opportunity to convey to you, on behalf of the Romanian people and on my own behalf, warm greetings and best wishes for peace and prosperity to the friendly Chilean people.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Dascalescu Greets New Algerian Prime Minister

AU1409135089 Bucharest AGERPRES
in English 0948 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 14/9/1989—Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu sent a telegram to the prime minister of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, Mouloud Hamrouche, on his appointment to that office, whereby he addresses his warm congratulations as well as the best wishes of success in his highly responsible activity. The telegram expresses the belief that, by working together, the governments of the two countries will contribute to ever more intensely develop the ties of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Algeria in the interests of our peoples, of peace, collaboration and understanding worldwide.

Ceausescu Visits Iasi, Suceava Counties

Tours Iasi Enterprises

AU1309190489 Bucharest AGERPRES
in English 1800 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 13/9/1989—RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary and President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu started a working visit to Iasi County on 13 September.

The visit occasions a survey of the results scored by working people in economic, research and learning units in the economic and social development of Iasi Municipality and of the other settlements of the county, and the setting of directions of action to best fulfill the important tasks incumbent on them this year and in this five-year period.

After the arrival ceremony in Iasi, Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu headed for Pascani on board of the presidential helicopter.

The first unit visited was the Transducer Manufacturing Enterprise, specialized in mechanization and automation elements for the most diverse industrial branches, where the RCP general secretary was presented the latest automation equipment manufactured according to original technical solutions given by the experts of the enterprise in cooperation with those of relevant research and design institutes throughout the country. President Nicolae Ceausescu recommended that special attention be further paid to the improvement and diversification of production in function of the requirements of the national economy and export demands, to miniaturization and standardization, to the assimilation of multi-purpose electronic equipment.

The dialogue of the RCP and Romanian state leader with the experts of the Rolling Stock Mechanical Enterprise, the second unit visited in Pascani, focused on questions related to the intensive utilization of the existing capacities, the increase of productivity, the reduction of material consumption and the growth of the economic efficiency of the entire activity.

Important issues concerning the course of productive activities were also discussed at the Sugar Beet Processing Enterprise where President Nicolae Ceausescu demanded that action be further taken for a most efficient processing of sugar beet and the diversification of the range of sugar products. For next year it was decided that the enterprise enlarge its list of products.

At the end of the visit in Pascani President Nicolae Ceausescu warmly congratulated all the inhabitants of the town on the results scored in the economic and urban development of their town and wished them further successes.

The working visit continued at the agricultural research station of Podu Iloaie, a unit specialized in creating

biological material adapted to pedoclimatic conditions of hilly regions. High-yield varieties of wheat and corn hybrids adapted to the weather conditions specific to the region have been developed there in a short lapse of time.

The president was informed about the achievements the unit scored in improving farm machinery.

The dialogue of the RCP general secretary with working people in Iasi County continued at the producer cooperative farm of Movileni, one of the best in the country. On an area of over 2,700 hectares it cultivates cereals, oil plants, vegetables and potatoes. The unit makes large benefits providing for substantial incomes for its cooperative members.

In the afternoon, President Nicolae Ceausescu saw round an exhibition in Iasi, where he looked into the development of agriculture in Iasi County. Measures were set for the obtainment of large plant and animal productions in line with the targets of the new agrarian revolution.

The county's results in the food industry, in the higher capitalization of farm produce and in the small and handicraft industries were also examined.

A fish artificial reproduction station within the fish farming research station of Iasi was also visited and the stage was examined of the research conducted to increase fish production in inland rivers. Throughout their visit President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu were welcomed with strong applause, cheers and acclamations.

The working visit continues.

Visit Continues

AU1409182989 Bucharest AGERPRES
in English 1717 GMT 14 Sep 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Working Visit to Iasi County"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 14/9/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], president of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu continued their working visit to Iasi County.

They saw round large economic units in the county seat, where essential aspects of the production activity, as well as the long-term development targets of the respective county were examined.

The visit, which takes place on the eve of the opening of a new academic year, occasioned a meeting with professors and teachers, with students and pupils in that powerful university centre.

Participating in the visit were Emil Bobu and Silviu Curticeanu.

President Nicolae Ceausescu started his visit at the Polytechnic Institute in Iasi, where he saw round an exhibition opened to mark the new academic year. The exhibition highlights the importance the RCP attaches to education, as an integrant part of the entire strategy for the economic and social development of the country, as well as the results of its integration into research and production.

The development of the Romanian school reflects in the continuous expansion, modernization and improvement of education in the municipality and county of Iasi, which boast five higher learning institutions, as well as roughly one thousand primary and secondary schools, lyceums and vocational schools, and others.

The laboratories and the micro-pilot stations of the faculty of chemical technology of the polytechnic institute were also visited.

The next unit seen round was the welded pipes metallurgical enterprise whose present industrial marketable production is 12 times larger than that of 1965. Owing to the quality of its products, which accords with international standards, the enterprise's exports account for more than 60 per cent of its production this year. The unit's products are exported to roughly 45 countries on all continents. The Romanian head of state watched the technological flow and learned of a number of modern working methods which capitalize the research potential of the enterprise's collectivity and of the experts in a number of relevant institutes and in the Polytechnic Institute in Iasi.

President Nicolae Ceausescu had words of appreciation for the activity of the enterprise's experts aimed at improving technologies, for their concern to update production.

The "Tesatura" enterprise was also seen round. The unit's collection includes more than 150 types of fabric which are intended for export directly and through cooperation.

The president was shown an updated production hall, which went on line recently.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu also met the pupils and teaching staff of the "Victoria" industrial lyceum, which annually trains more than 2,500 pupils for various trades in the light industry both through the instructional-educational process and in the workshops, of the school, which boasts its own production plant.

The visit continued to the most powerful industrial unit in Iasi the heavy-duty equipment combine which is also one of the standard units of the Romanian industry, making a major contribution to the implementation of priority programs in power engineering, metallurgy, the extractive industry and machine building. The visit was an opportunity to make an in-depth analysis of the way

in which action is taken to update the manufacture of heavy-duty equipment and to boost the efficiency of the entire activity.

The latest products were shown made by the combine in Iasi, noteworthy among which are, owing to their technical and functional features, the ball and autogenous crushers for ore processing, various equipment for the steel industry, as well as several types of high-power presses.

The working people in all the units seen round warmly welcomed their distinguished guests, with cheers and ovations, expressing their adhesion to the resolution of the plenary meeting of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP concerning Nicolae Ceausescu's reelection to the highest party office at the fourteenth congress.

The working visit continues.

Meets Iasi RCP Bureau

AU1409194389 Bucharest AGERPRES
in English 1836 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 14/9/1989—On the afternoon of September 14, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], president of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu met with the Bureau of the Iasi County Committee of the RCP.

On the basis of the conclusions drawn from an analysis conducted for two days in economic, research and learning units, the meeting looked into measures to help the county of Iasi fulfill its tasks under the plan for 1989, the priority programmes and the provisions for the ongoing five-year period at high quality and efficiency levels.

In connection with the activity carried through, emphasis was placed on the results scored in industry and agriculture, in exports and investment, and in other areas of the economic and social life. At the same time, the shortcomings that prevented the complete fulfillment of the plan by the territorial unit were underscored.

On the basis of the reports read and of those noted during the visit, Nicolae Ceausescu showed that although overall results were fine they were still below possibilities, below the powerful technical and human potential of the county of Iasi. The RCP general secretary requested that firm measures be taken for a most judicious employment of all the units and resources in the county's economy, for an appropriate preparation and unfolding of production activities, for the reduction of material and production spending, for a rise in productivity, profitability, profits and economic efficiency, both in agriculture and investment included.

The party general secretary approached a number of issues related to the development of the county's localities and the distribution of the production forces in the territory. He recommended that the greatest attention be

paid to the fulfillment of the plans for the economic and social development of every town and commune and requested that conditions be put in place for a number of rural localities to turn into urban centers.

During the meeting, Nicolae Ceausescu also tackled questions related to the party activity.

Visits Suceava 15 Sep

AU1609150489 Bucharest AGERPRES
in English 0835 GMT 16 Sep 89

[“President Nicolae Ceausescu's Working Visit to Suceava County”—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] On September 15, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and president of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu started a working visit to Suceava County (lying in northeastern Romania).

On boarding off the helicopter, the guests were greeted by Constantin Stoica, first secretary of the Suceava County Committee of the RCP.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu rode the thoroughfares of the Municipality of Suceava in an open car, where thousands of inhabitants extended an impressive reception to them.

The president is accompanied on his visit by Emil Bobu and Silviu Curticeanu.

The first unit to be visited was the Fundul Moldovei mining enterprise. The dialogue of the RCP general secretary with executives, specialists and other working people evinced the fact that that enterprise and the Gura Humorului combine fulfilled and overfulfilled the tasks with the marketable and net productions, the other basic indices of the plan for eight months. It was stressed that conditions were in place for producing more. Special attention was given to problems related to the ensurance of ore reserves to be mined, so as to provide conditions for an efficient activity in the long run. Next, the ore dressing works was visited, where the technologic flow was surveyed and measures were set for a better operation of equipment and installations.

At the agricultural show of Suceava County, arranged in Dumbraveni Commune, President Nicolae Ceausescu analyzed with executives and specialists problems related to the development and modernization of the agriculture of the county, the ways to obtain bigger plant and animal productions. The fact was underscored that wide land improvement works, high-yield strains and hybrids, proper application of technologies were behind sensible rises in farm outputs. The concerns for the increase of animal heads, for the development and modernization of animal-breeding were set forth. The fine results scored throughout in the agriculture of Suceava County showed in the value of the overall farm production of this year that grew over four times from 1965.

Next, the results and concerns of the experts of the farm research station were presented. The unit specializes in the creation of potato, corn, wheat, rye, flax and fodder strains and hybrids, seeds for the major cultures in that area and the improvement of beef breeds.

The working visit continues.

Meets Suceava RCP Bureau

AU 1609182789 Bucharest AGERPRES
in English 1750 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 16/9/1989—On 16 September, Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu met the members of the Bureau of the Suceava County RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Committee.

During the meeting modalities of action were set for the fulfillment of the programmes and plans of economic and social development of the county.

The first secretary and members of the bureau presented the achievements scored in industry and agriculture, as well as shortcomings that were manifest in the productive activity of the county, the steps taken for a general rise in economic efficiency.

Addressing those present, Nicolae Ceausescu asked that, with the requirement of further developing the technical and material base of the county as a starting point, a programme of action be worked out as soon as possible the implementation of which should provide for a per capita industrial production worth at least 50,000 lei. Thus in 1990 the county will turn out a 35,000 lei worth of industrial production. In 1995 the value of the per capita industrial output will be of 45-46 billion lei.

The productive units that are to start operating in the ensuing years must be located judiciously so that all the settlements of the county should develop harmoniously, he said.

As for agriculture, it was assessed that Suceava had great possibilities of further increasing plant productions. It was demanded that special attention be paid to the zootechnical sector, in state and cooperative units, so that its share should be of over 70 percent of the total livestock. Food industry ought to develop accordingly to turn to best account all animal products and better supply population.

Nicolae Ceausescu referred to the way in which the programmes for the development and modernization of the county's settlements were implemented. The most developed communes must become powerful agro-industrial centres boasting all the necessary facilities to provide good working, living and learning conditions and health care to their dwellers, proper conditions for various cultural activities.

Special attention must be paid to carrying into effect the measures for ensuring the settlements' electric power self-sufficiency, in consideration of the possibilities the

county has, the president said. He asked that all communes be supplied with electricity from local resources by building microhydropower plants and using biogas.

Questions related to the organizational, political-ideological and cultural-educative activities of the RCP organizations in the county were also approached.

Speech at Suceava Rally

AU 1609135989 Bucharest SCINTELA
in Romanian 17 Sep 89

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu at a mass rally in Suceava Municipality on the occasion of his working visit to Suceava County on 16 September]

[Text] Dear Comrades: To begin with, I would like to extend to you, participants in this large, mass rally in Suceava and all inhabitants of Suceava Municipality and County, warm revolutionary greetings and best wishes, on behalf of the party Central Committee, the State Council, the government, and myself personally. [cheers, chants]

We are paying a working visit to Suceava. We wanted to meet with the working people in industry, agriculture, and other sectors of activity, in order to discuss the progress of this year's plan fulfillment, as well as ways and means to commendably implement Suceava's socio-economic development targets in all spheres of activity. I must say that we have gained good impressions from our stay here. We visited a mine and three industrial enterprises, including the recently commissioned roller bearings factory, and one can say that—in view of the results scored in the first 8 months and of the fulfillment of this year's plan with a small surplus—the Suceava working people have worked in a responsible spirit, under the leadership of party organizations, and are making an important contribution to the fatherland's overall development. [cheers, chants]

We have also gained good impressions about the activity in agriculture. Here we saw good crops and further opportunities to obtain even better yields. For all these achievements, I warmly congratulate the workers, cooperative farmers, the whole peasantry, the intelligentsia, and all of the working people and I wish them new successes in all fields of activity. [cheers, chants]

In view of the rain falling down upon our rally, I will be very brief. However, this does not diminish in any way the importance we attach to the industry, agriculture, and working people of Suceava, which have obtained outstanding results. Suceava County, like other Moldavian counties and the whole country, has registered important development, particularly after the Ninth Party Congress. Therefore, we can state with justified pride, that in Suceava, like in the rest of the country, one can see the results of our communist party's policy and of the socialist construction. This is proof of the fact that only socialism can ensure socioeconomic development, raise the material and intellectual living standard, and

increase Romania's economic power, independence, and sovereignty. [cheers, chants]

In the enterprises that we visited, we noticed further great opportunities to expand and increase production. As a matter of fact, we should bear in mind that, in the coming 5-year plan period, Suceava, too, must register even stronger development and increase its contribution to the fatherland's overall development. You are familiar with the targets set for the Ninth 5-Year Plan and up to the years 2000-2010, as the documents for the 14th Party Congress have been published and are being discussed within the entire party, with the whole nation. We will have to draw all of the necessary conclusions in order to improve and modernize activities in all fields, to raise the qualitative and technological level of production, and to increase labor productivity and economic efficiency. Let us ensure that Suceava's products are on par and can compete with the best similar products at the world level, thus showing the production capability of the Suceava people, who, for centuries on end, have defended their independence and sovereignty, and now, in freedom, are building socialism and striving for communism. [cheers, chants]

At this large, mass rally, which takes place 1 day after the opening of the new academic year, I would like to congratulate all of the pupils and teaching staff in Suceava and wish them ever better results in the new school year. May they improve their training level and master the latest achievements of science, technology, and overall knowledge of human society's development. We are building socialism with the people and for the people, with the nation and for the nation. We should master the latest scientific-technological achievements in all spheres and continuously raise our professional level, so as to be good builders of socialism and communism. Let us do all we can to turn our people into a nation with a high level of science and culture, a nation which is building communism and continuously ensuring its independence and well-being. [cheers, chants]

While implementing the fatherland's development targets, our people and Socialist Romania will continue to make a full contribution, as they have done so far, to promoting a new kind of policy, bringing about disarmament, eliminating nuclear weapons, creating a world without arms and weapons, solving the serious economic problems, eliminating underdevelopment, and establishing new relations of complete equality among all states in the world, with the conviction that this is in accordance with the developmental interests of our fatherland and all nations in the world.

In conclusion, I would like once more to wish all of Suceava's working people, from all sectors of activity, ever greater success in fulfilling plan provisions, so as to welcome the 14th Party Congress with increasingly better results and to occupy an ever better place in the great socialist competition among factories and counties,

and if possible, even first place. I would welcome this, and I hope you will work in this spirit. [cheers, chants]

I wish you all ever greater success in all of your activity, and much health and happiness. [cheers, chants]

Leaders' Public Appearances for 9-15 Sep

AU1609152089

[Editorial report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 9-15 September period (sources of each report given in parentheses):

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu paid a working visit to Iasi County on 13 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 13 Sep 89) On 13 September, they continued their visit to Iasi County (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1717 GMT 14 Sep 89) and held a meeting with the Bureau of Iasi County Party Committee. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1836 GMT 14 Sep 89) On 15 September, Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu attended a mass rally in Iasi on the opening of the new academic year in Romania and departed Iasi for a visit to Suceava County. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1805 GMT 15 Sep 89)

Vasile Milea, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee (PEC) of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) and minister of national defense, and Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defense, received a PRC military delegation led by Colonel General Guo Linxiang, in Bucharest during the 7-15 September period. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1653 GMT 15 Sep 89)

President Nicolae Ceausescu received a Mongolian parliamentary delegation led by Lodongyn Rinchin, chairman of the People's Great Hural, in Bucharest on 11 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1713 GMT 11 Sep 89)

On 12 September, President Ceausescu received departing Turkish Ambassador Suleyman Gunden, in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1753 GMT 12 Sep 89) On 15 September, Nicolae Ceausescu addressed a rally on the opening of the academic year, in Iasi. (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0750 GMT 15 Sep 89)

Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu held talks with Muhammad Lutfi Farhat, Libyan secretary of the General People's Planning Committee, in Bucharest on 11 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1748 GMT 11 Sep 89)

Ion Dinca, PEC member and first deputy prime minister, held talks with Zou Jiahua, PRC minister of machine building industry, in Bucharest on 15 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1813 GMT 15 Sep 89)

Party Plenum Accused of 'Avoiding Issue'

AU2009110389 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 89 p 13

[Unattributed report reprinted from Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA: "Barrier to a Public Statement"—date not given]

[Text] Limiting the debate on the stands on interethnic relations at the last session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia cannot be interpreted in any other way than as avoidance of this burning issue. There was the conviction and, to judge by everything, the prior agreement that the 26th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia would pass without the customary polemics, quarrels, and arguments which have become a characteristic of this highest party organ. The debate on the main theme—the changes to the statute—took place calmly. However, one might say unexpectedly sharp polemics, not to say quarrels, developed when the stands of the 25th session for the development of interethnic relations or, more precisely, the proposed stands of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on the reactions and results of this debate among the membership of the League of Communists were put on the plenum's agenda. Celestin Sardelic began the debate, and the uncertainty and bickering which lasted for several minutes was interrupted with the decision that Sardelic, who was a guest, should be allowed to speak.

This can be assessed as an affair without precedent in the work of the party, which even deviates from the statutory norms and all other norms of democratic behavior and democratic debate. Above all, not one statutory provision foresees the possibility of the working presidium or an executive-political organ of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia limiting the debate on the subjects on the agenda. No one can deny anyone else the right to speak in the time allotted by the rules of procedure. This is precisely why the proposal by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia not to conduct a debate on the problems which the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia had on the agenda was surprising, especially when this involved an issue that at this moment is one of the burning ones and which has a very serious affect on the stability of Yugoslavia. Celestin Sardelic was invited to the session and also had the statutory right to say what he thought. The fact is that one could see in advance the danger that Sardelic's speech would provoke a series of polemical reactions—which was the case—so the two presidiums, the working one and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, perhaps attempted with the best intentions to prevent them. A far greater danger, however, is if all these differences and this intolerance among certain republics and provinces are voiced in newspapers, at formal and informal meetings, football matches, various celebrations, meetings

and so on, at which interethnic hatred and intolerance is created. It is far more useful to discuss these at official forums, particularly in the highest party forum in the country and to reach unified stands on them. After all, these forums and the highest party executive organ are the ones most responsible for ensuring unity.

Party Presidium Discusses Political Changes

AU1909200189 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] As we have said, a session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was held today in Belgrade which had the aim of preparing the congress. The session was chaired by Milan Pancevski, president of the Presidium. Since consultations on the venue of the congress are still under way, the Presidium has not made a decision on this, nor has it made a decision on the date of the congress. Here is a report by Sonja Bada for the combined Yugoslav radio stations:

A large part of the session was devoted to the draft decision on introducing the post of president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia whose term of office would last 2 years with the possibility of re-election for another 2 years. The explanation of this proposal stresses that this is in line with the orientation toward strengthening the authority, role, and responsibility of the Central Committee and the need to strengthen its influence and efficacy as the highest organ of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

It was not quite possible to conclude from the debate how this proposal arose, even though it was said that this feeling was expressed at the first conference of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and in various party communities. Some Presidium members pointed out that it was not known where such an agreement was reached and stressed that the proposal was not sufficiently explained because, as it was said, the authority of the Central Committee cannot be provided only in the post of the president.

The delegates also recalled the orientation of that part of the membership who still adhere to the practice of working collectively and collective accountability. It was also warned that it is difficult to find a person who would have the support of the majority of members and parts of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia for this post. Most members of the Presidium were also against extending the term of office and supported a 2-year or even a 1-year term of office. It was decided that this proposal would be considered together with the other changes to the statute of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, so it can be expected that it will undergo further modifications.

In the same proposal, there is also dispute over whether the presidents of the Central Committees of the republics and of the Provincial Committees should be ex-officio members of the Presidium. At its last session, the

Central Committee adopted the bases for changes and additions to the statute, which include the stand that no one can enter the organs of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia as an ex-officio member—they must be directly elected—particularly as exceptions are only possible regarding republican and provincial presidents who can be ex-officio members of the Central Committee. [Sentence as heard]

Most Presidium members thought that this stand should be respected and also pointed out the advantage which the Presidium would have in its work with fewer members. The regulations on procedure would specify in which situations the presidents of the republican and provincial organizations of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia would need to be invited to Presidium sessions.

Presidium members from the Leagues of Communists of Serbia, Vojvodina, and Kosovo think that these republican and provincial officials must be members of the Presidium, which means that this proposal will be presented to members of the Central Committee as an alternative.

The Presidium members also discussed the draft thesis for the formulation of an ideopolitical platform for changes in the political system. As assessed, the proposed material contains many open questions and causes much confusion. The League of Communists simply do not have answers to some questions or different views exist. No matter how necessary it is during preparations for the congress to come to a unified view of the most important issues in the political system, the open questions should not, on the other hand, be resolved too quickly; the party membership should be allowed to express its judgment on the proposed solutions.

One of the useful lessons from the debate was that in further work on changes to the political system and the formulation of the new constitution, the League of Communists should not behave like a political arbitrator and should not resolve theoretical questions and enter into specialist aspects of a normative examination of the system.

A question that needs to be considered further relates to the nature of socialism and the fate of self-management, political pluralism, and the function of the federation. It was particularly stressed today that it is not enough just to say that the League of Communists is not renouncing self-management, but self-management should now be established in social reform, the conditions of a market economy, the pluralism of ownership, and political pluralism.

It was said that differences over these questions should be surmounted through patient work and reasoned debate, in parallel with work on the documents on economic reform and the transformation of the League of Communists. The well-known differences probably also contain the reasons why the Presidium did not make a decision today on the proposed date of the congress.

Croatian Official on Pressure on Judiciary

AU1909111789 Zagreb VJESNIK
in Serbo-Croatian 10 Sep 89 p 7

[Interview with Ivan Fumic, republican secretary for justice and administration of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, by Djordje Licina: "The Destruction of a Law-Governed State"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Licina] Politicians often take it upon themselves to make judgments on behalf of the courts. Perhaps the most typical case of this is Vlasi. How independent is the judiciary in our country in fact?

[Fumic] According to the SFRY Constitution, the constitutions of the republics and provinces and the legal regulations, the judiciary should really be independent and free from influence and pressure. However, some political structures—and not only these—attempt to exert pressure both on the judiciary as a whole and on individual courts, judges, and even public prosecutors. How else can one explain the remark made at the meeting in Belgrade announcing arrests and trials which immediately came true?

The criminal proceedings against Azem Vlasi are unusual even for Yugoslav circumstances, because up until now replaced politicians have not been held criminally responsible for the policy that they conducted, especially since that policy as such was not created by just one individual.

The special form of pressure which is nowadays being used to try to influence the judiciary consists of meetings, various gatherings, and calls to account. The extent to which the judiciary is independent today can best be seen from the fact that nowadays individuals and groups are being allowed to dispute legally-binding court decisions and announce that they do not recognize our courts, as in the cases of Jansa, Jovan Opacic, and others.

This pressure has recently been particularly expressed in the Socialist Republic of Croatia in relation to the people who have been prosecuted or against whom criminal proceedings are being conducted for criminal offenses committed during the celebrations marking the 600th anniversary of the Kosovo battle in the Knin region. Thus, citizens of the village of Plavno have given an ultimatum demanding that one of those who have been sentenced be released from jail. The lawyer representing the sentenced Jovan Opacic has been making similar demands on the leadership of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, which are substantiated with various threats. Similar demands have also been coming from part of the press in some republics, as well as from writers led by Dobrica Cosic in the writers club in Belgrade, where the position of Serbs in the Socialist Republic of Croatia was discussed in an extremely untruthful and unacceptable way, and national hatred was directly stirred up. Dobrica Cosic's speech and particularly his interview to the

newspaper IL TEMPO show how much diversity there is in the application of regulations in Yugoslavia. What he stated on that occasion would in any country be criticized as high treason and prosecution organs everywhere would take action, but in our country this has so far not been the case. Indeed, he is using his destructive behavior to continue to ruin people and particularly poison interethnic relations, which is something in which he is unfortunately not alone. Even this example only confirms my claim that we do not have a unified legal system, nor a unified application of laws, nor unified action by judicial and other organs, which is reflected in the unity and future of Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Dimitrovic on 'Provocations' Against Croatia

LD1509103289 Zagreb Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Correspondent Dragica Lenacic] At celebrations to mark Post and Telecommunications Workers' Day, Drago Dimitrovic [secretary of the Croatian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium] reviewed a very broad front of open political issues and frequent attacks on Croatia recently claiming that Croatia is a traitor of Serbs.

[Begin Dimitrovic recording] Unfortunately, among attacks coming from various institutions, such as Yugoslian solidarity, the lawyers association, and other open forums, and even among discussions in Francuska 7 Street [Serbian Writers Association headquarters] about which we had opportunity to hear a lot through the public information media, it is a new and surprising momentum that the Vojvodina League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium joined in the discussion. The discussion's key thesis is that concern for the status of Serbs [in Croatia] is the reason to treat institutions of a socialist republic as local structures, and to achieve brotherly solidarity in practice by bypassing them.

At first, when reading the TANJUG report [from a session of the Vojvodina League of Communists Provincial Committee asking that the situation in the Knin region be discussed by federal bodies], we thought someone made a mistake. Afterward, we received the official document. In fact, we realized that in our communications, one republic is reduced to local administrative bodies, that is, that its identity and sovereignty in its all dimensions are negated.

Embarking on the road of ignoring the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia and reducing it to a local government, shows a break with the foundations of our relations, with the principle of mutual respect. Furthermore, bearing in mind that accounts have not been settled with any of the current stances in this avalanche of attacks on the SR of Croatia, and the fact that no contacts were made with institutions of the SR of Croatia or the Croatian League of Communists Central Committee to clarify the issues

which caused concern of the party leadership in Vojvodina, then it is obvious, that this is something completely different than a true concern for real and everyday problems of people both in the Knin region and in other parts of the country.

Such behavior relieves us from any kind of consideration when treating this issue because the denial of the sovereign rights of the SR of Croatia is the denial of its foundations and the right to regulate for itself in equal relations with other republics all issues concerning common and our interests, as well as an assault on the foundations of Yugoslavia, which we neither want nor can allow. For these reasons, it is silly that the discussion about such a problem stemming from such a political stance, is turned into a discussion about whether intonations of individual public speeches about this issue were balanced or not, whether or not the right words were chosen. Under conditions of such a destruction of the foundations of our relations, it is difficult to be rational and too clear-headed.

But, we do not view this problem as a conflict with Vojvodina. Together with the provincial committee we have no interest in turning these issues into political statements. We do not intend to deal with it in a manner that would be a pretext for further exacerbation in the SFRY. However, our permanent duty and right is to prevent crossing of the line, which has been overstepped. What is at stake here are interests on which this republic is grounded. There can be no negotiations about these interests. In this sense, who allows this and acts in this way, must accept consequences. [end recording]

[Lenacic] According to Dimitrovic, the most important thing is that in the atmosphere of pressure and attacks, Croatia realizes that the strength of this republic lies in its ability not to react to even the most crude provocations in a manner that would provoke conflict. At the same time it is important that Croatia remain level-headed because this would favor creation of general chaos, which, in the final analysis would precisely suit those who want to change Yugoslavia according to fundamental orientations and achievements that are different from those used at present. For that reason, Drago Dimitrovic stressed, in conclusion, that Croatia must quite clearly stand for defending the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia is the defense of its economic development, and other interests. Acting in this manner, Croatia will prove to what extent the policy of pressure, provocation, and noise-making is a short-lived policy.

Zagreb Party Session Notes Nationalist Problems

LD1609032189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1723 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Zagreb 14 Sep (TANJUG)—The current political situation is being most negatively influenced by the further exacerbation in interethnic relations in Yugoslavia and the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia, it was assessed at today's session of the Zagreb League of

Communists City Committee. There are attempts to destabilize the Croatian SR in the sphere of interethnic relations in the way of reviving Croat and Serbian nationalism, Executive Secretary Franjo Greguric said in his opening address. [passage omitted]

"It is also a disconcerting fact, he added, that certain leaderships in the Serbian SR are reacting to events in the Croatian SR from the position of radical views on the so-called Serbian question, whereas they consider Serbian nationalism only sporadically as though it were of marginal importance," he said. [passage omitted]

"This time we are witnessing the open and transparent aggression by greater-Serbian nationalism mostly from the outside of the Croatian SR towards the Croatian SR and especially towards the Serbian nation in Croatia," Croatian LC official Ivo Druzic said. It is an obligation of the LC to unmask the real goals of greater-Serbian nationalism as well as those of all other nationalisms and to uproot the occurrences of anti-Serbian resentment which wants to attach nationalists' sins to the whole Serbian nation. Today one can no longer claim that there is no solidarity on the part of Yugoslavia for resolving the Kosovo problem. Now it is time to work concretely, to achieve results in reducing emigration and consolidating trust and brotherhood between Serbs, Albanians, and others in Kosovo and to undertake differentiation between those who sincerely want to help and those with different intentions—nationalists.

In Druzic's opinion, the intentions of Serbian nationalism towards the Croatian SR have two stages. The first is the attempt at creating a unitarist Yugoslavia whereby equality is advocated verbally, whereas in practice it is reduced to "cultural autonomy of the republics and nations" by denying the foundations of the SFRY's federal system. In order to achieve this one wants to undermine, by exploiting real problems and inciting intranational disputes, all those who advocate the AVNOJ-based foundations of relations in the federal community and a reform via democratization.

The tactics of destabilization, in Druzic's words, is taking a route of sowing mistrust and hatred between the Croats and the Serbs by exerting propaganda, political and media pressure on the Serbian nation in Croatia, who are allegedly kept in a subordinate position without culture, language, and alphabet and who are constantly threatened, because of the Croats' "genocidal" nature, by physical execution unless they cling to the Serbian nation's "mainstream", since all the Croats are the same in the end,—they are Ustasas.

"The indirect aim of this campaign is to provoke Croats' resistance and to fortify anti-Serbian resentment or at least to raise doubts about the true commitment of the Serbian people in Croatia. In this way the abyss of national divisions is being widened from both sides," Druzic said.

But, he maintains, it is just a tactical maneuver of nationalism towards the creation of a unitarist Yugoslavia, by which they raise fears in order to provoke and deepen the real separatist tendencies in certain republics and in Croatia as well so that it could lead to the disintegration of Yugoslavia. "This is not a way whereby everyone takes their option but an attempt at changing internal borders in order to establish a strong-unified great Serbia, which is that part of the Yugoslav territory where the Serbian nation lives while all the rest who are not Serbs or cannot survive independently should be annexed or join the neighbors," Druzic said. [passage omitted]

Croat LC Criticizes Vojvodina LC's Stances

LD1509221689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1614 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 15 Sep (TANJUG)—The Croat League of Communist Central Committee Presidium has considered the stances of the Vojvodina League of Communist Central Committee Presidium's statement and assessed that these stances, by their contents and methods, are at odds with the principles of relations in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, it is stated in a statement from a the Croat League of Communist Central Committee Presidium's session.

Therefore, the Croat League of Communist Central Committee Presidium rejects them completely. This is, of course, not to deny any League of Communist organ or organization, the Vojvodina League of Communist Central Committee Presidium included, the right to initiate consideration of certain social phenomena. Nonetheless, this must be done in such a way as to contribute to the resolving of problems rather than to exacerbate them by subjecting them to one-sided treatment.

The final stage of the pre-congress activities of the Croat League of Communist will begin on 21 September at a session of the Central Committee at which, among other things, the draft documents, "The Basic directions for the Croat League of Communist Activities on the reform of the League of Communist and society" will be endorsed. The Croat League of Communist Central Committee Presidium decided this at the session of 14 September, chaired by President Stanko Stojcevic.

The Croat League of Communist Central Committee Presidium states in its statement issued today that at the next session of the Croat League of Communist Central Committee a number of decisions will be adopted as well as lists of registered candidates for functions in the League of Communist. At the same session the Croat League of Communist Central Committee will discuss and assess the current political situation which the Presidium already discussed and issued its stances on 8 September.

The Croat League of Communist Central Committee Presidium concluded that the Vojvodina League of

Communist Provincial Committee Presidium embarked upon assessing the situation in the Socialist Republic of Croatia without any evidence whatsoever, making use of untruths and insinuations.

By such a statement the Vojvodina League of Communist Provincial Committee Presidium exacerbates intranational relations in our country, impairs brotherhood and unity, increases anxiety and uncertainty among the people, and weakens the league of Communist of Yugoslavia's action unity, it is said in the statement.

The Croat League of Communist Central Committee Presidium assessed that the Vojvodina League Provincial Committee Presidium had embarked by its statement, on an intolerable negation of sovereignty of the Socialist Republic of Croatia as a constituent part of the SFRY. Actions taken by the system's legal institutions are being challenged by interfering with their independence and autonomy. By demanding that the League of Communist of Yugoslavia Central Committee take action, the prime role and responsibility of the Croat League of Communist is challenged and mistrust has been expressed in the Croat League of Communist as an autonomous and integral part of the united League of Communists of Yugoslavia. By doing this the Vojvodina League of Communist provincial Committee joins those who aim to plant divisions in interethnic relations and rearrange political relations in the Socialist Republic of Croatia and the SFRY as well as in the League of Communist of Yugoslavia.

At the same time the Vojvodina League of Communist Provincial Committee has not expressed its clear stand against the nationalist and chauvinist attacks on the Croat and Serb people in Croatia, ie in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, which have lately been coming all too often from the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. At the session of the Croat League of Communist Central Central Committee Presidium such activities by "the Sava society", "Jugosolidarnost" and the Serbian Writers Associations were singled out, as was the conduct of the Liman League of Communist Municipal Committee Presidium and some other work organizations which have openly called for the toppling of the system's legal institutions in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, and the public appearance of a member of the veterans' organization of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and a member of the Presidium of the Socialist Republic of Serbia from Vojvodina, who by untruths and insinuation attack the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

The Croat League of Communist Central Committee Presidium adds that the Vojvodina League of Communist Provincial Committee Presidium's statement had been issued on 8 September on the very eve of the League of Communist Central Committee's session while it was officially sent to the League of Communist Central Committee Presidium 4 days later. By this method the Vojvodina league of Communist provincial committee unambiguously reveals its intentions and

aims. In the preparations for the 26th session of the League of Communist Central Committee the Vojvodina League of Communist Provincial Committee stressed that it accepted the approach to discussion and proposed stances of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia Central Committee on intranational relations and curbing divisions and unprincipled clashes in the League of Communist, whereas by its statement and the way in which it launched the statement onto the public it took opposite action in practice. By doing this it threatened the implementation of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia's unified political line. The leadership of the League of Communist Yugoslavia must put forward its clear stand on this. [passage omitted]

France Popit Letter to Kucan Published

*AU2009074289 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 89 p 7*

[*"What France Popit Said to Milan Kucan in His Letter of 5 June This Year: Do Not Search for Bilak"*]

[Text] I have been thinking for a long time whether it is sensible to write this letter. I have decided to write it because after articles in TRIBUNA, BORBA, and POLITIKA, no leading person in the Slovene political leadership has made any public evaluation of the political relations in Slovenia and the assessments made of some people in Slovenia, including me.

Therefore I will repeat what I said in a telephone conversation with Comrade Prosenec, secretary of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, on 25 May 1989: "I have read Bavcar's notes. Do you think it is honest of Stanovnik and Kucan to say about me that I am allegedly a Slovene Bilak?"

I went on to say:

If an end comes to the Slovene Spring, do not search for a Bilak, because the end will come because of your policy. You disparaged me by comparing me with Bilak as an enemy of democracy, of the Slovene people, and the workers class.

Until now you have not called anybody a counterrevolutionary or separatist. This is a scandal, this is your democracy that you sing so much about, this is your tolerance (pluralism) of various ideas. It of course applies to the opposition forces and their ideas, but not to the League of Communists.

You keep a monopoly on the only truth although you complain that it resided until now in the head of one person (Tito? Kardelj?). You do not tolerate any observations, even if they are well meant, and you make others shut up by disparaging statements about the "sound forces," or of "Bilak," or by threatening to resign. I will be the first in the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia to oppose the Central Committee accepting a resignation. I will be the first in the Central Committee of the League of Communists of

Slovenia to oppose the Central Committee accepting a resignation. [sentence repeated as published] You brought us into the present situation. With your resignation, you want to remain democrats and humanists in the eyes of the public, and he who would come after you would have to be a Stalinist to remove your sins.

It can be seen from Bavcar's notes that you, together with Bavcar, have politicized the trial of the four to make it into an attack on the Yugoslav People's Army as a integral part of our system. I spoke about this at a meeting of the Commission of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia on 15 December 1988, when I reported what Bavcar, Jansa, and Kirn were saying.

When on 29 October 1984 I talked with Briski about the preparations of the session of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation on all-people's defense and self-protection, they said that they were struggling against the existing "establishment" and because the Yugoslav People's Army is its main pillar, one must attack it. I have warned you about these stands on several occasions. Anyhow, both Kucan and Stanovnik were present at the session of the Commission of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, and they heard it all. Bavcar and Stanovnik talked about it in their conversation (as one can see from Bavcar's notes).

After all this, the connection with articles in MLADINA about me and the "sound forces" is becoming increasingly clear to me.

I know that the initiative for the attack on me has come from the Central Committee house. It happened immediately after Kucan's meeting with some League of Communists members. The same thing happened with Bekes interview in REPUBLIKA and Mitja Ribicic's speech at a veterans meeting at Gradisce.

Because of all of this I have intended to ask for the protection of my personal integrity at the session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, but I will see if I am going to do it (25 May).

I have told Prosenc to tell Kucan that he did a great injustice to me as a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia over which he presides. Let Kucan remember how I behaved toward him when accounts were being settled with Kavcic. When Prosenc said that he would tell Kucan about our conversation, I advised him to tell everybody and not only Kucan.

Post scriptum: Considering that Bavcar's notes were exploited by the Belgrade press, one can see who turned against Kucan. It was his "ally" Bavcar in the name of the alternative movement. And it happened at the time when Milosevic was increasing pressure on Slovenia and exploited the weaknesses of the Slovene political leadership and the open disunity in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

With comradely greetings.

[signed] F.P.

Commentary on Ethnic Conflicts in SFRY

AU1909165489 Ljubljana Domestic Service
in Slovene 1330 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Nadja Pengov commentary]

[Text] The federal party leadership has made its statement on interethnic conflicts in Yugoslavia. It has published its stands in a way that did not allow any discussion when they were adopted so that passions would not be further inflamed. The case of Sardelic, who (?deals) with the subject discussed most profoundly, was cut short at the session with arguments that fail to persuade and it was classified as unacceptable. Therefore, the paper was adopted, stands that few people read have been made public, and the pronouncedly hot Knin case and all that is connected with it was taken off the agenda for an undetermined time. The party has done its job.

However, the cart of Yugoslav nationalisms has not been bothered by the artificially created accord and the papers, and it continues to careen forward, heading directly for an abyss, I fear.

In Montenegro, the new authorities try to protect their back and to preserve the status quo by offering to the hungry people more heads on a platter, and by promising even more drastic moves against the old political team responsible for the present trouble. What will happen when they run out of heads and all political scores are settled? Then against whom will the leaders direct the anger of people who are getting more hungry by the day? Will they direct it against the parasites in the north?

Bosnia is also seething. For some time one has been able to discern from the rather moderate statements by the political leadership that the turmoil among the people has not spilled over only because Bosnia-Herzegovina, they say, will by all means defend the balance among the three ethnic groups, won with blood.

Serbia continues on its way bullheadedly and arrogantly, and anything that for a moment appears to be a political illusion becomes reality in a day or two. In the name of Yugoslavia and of the struggle for a unified state, they force their own prescriptions on others. Individuals in the Belgrade City Committee openly threaten the Croat Party and state, and lately Slovenia as well, and they usurp the right to intervene everywhere, where in their opinion Serbdom and their model of Yugoslavism are endangered.

Croatia is no longer keeping silent. Unfortunately it seems that it has decided too late to break its silence and that its tactics of silence were a consequence of disagreement rather than a principled strategic accord. And so on, and so forth, all the way to Macedonia, that builds its policy toward the Albanian population on the Serbian

model, but on the other hand is already getting some hints from the Serbian republic about its lack of authenticity.

Then there is our republic. The latest complications concerning the Constitution will give rise to further intolerance.

It is a dance to which one can see no end and that causes quite practical consequences. People who travel from Knin to Zagreb change trains on the way, so as to travel on a train from a different departure point because they are afraid. A man from Belgrade traveling in Croatia displays on his car a notice that he was born in Zagreb and that he likes the Croats. Serbian children vacationing at the seaside are accompanied by an armed security guard, and after a politicized incident prematurely leave for home escorted by militiamen from their republic.

The hatred between the Kosovo Serbs and Albanians has never been as deep as it is now that Milosevic has put his republic in order. Two youths in Nova Gorica beat up two non-Slovenes because they are not supposed to have anything to do there. A disgraceful sign, Serbs to the Gallows [Srbe na vrbe], appears scrawled on the Orthodox church in Ljubljana. Until recently the slogan was a pure fabrication and political intrigue.

Yugoslavia dances its nationalist dance in which the national churches are joining in as equal political partners. Where is the limit?

Albanian Women Sentenced After March Protests

*AU1909115389 Pristina RILINDJA
in Albanian 12 Sep 89 p 8*

[A. Muhaxheri report: "Two Accused—4 and ½ years' imprisonment"]

[Text] After two sittings, the bench of five at Pristina District Court, headed by Metush Latifi, pronounced sentence yesterday following the women's demonstrations in the village of Balic, near Urosevac. Hatmane Sallauka and Sanie Aliu from Balic were pronounced guilty under Article 114 of the SFRY Penal Code. Hatmane was sentenced to 2 and ½ years imprisonment, and Sanie to 2 years. Metush Latifi, the presiding judge, stated when announcing the verdict that the accused should continue to be held in detention until their sentences are confirmed.

Hatmane Sallauka (21), who has a high school diploma in medicine, was detained on 2 May, and Sanie Aliu, who has a high school diploma in economics, was detained on 28 April. The two defendants were represented at their trial by three lawyers from Belgrade, Pec, and Pristina.

The charges leveled by Reshat Millaku, deputy public prosecutor, stated that Hatmane and Sanie agreed to organize the women and girls of the village of Balic to take to the street and demonstrate in protest against the constitutional changes in the Socialist Autonomous

Province of Kosovo and the Socialist Republic of Serbia. The defendants were then accused of visiting houses on 22 March, "at a time when the decision banning assemblies for the purpose of demonstrations was in force," and calling on the women and girls of Balic to gather in the village on the following day and go to Urosevac, carrying photographs of Comrade Tito at the head of their column, and demonstrating until the security organs dispersed them.

Hatmane and Sanie expressed surprise that they had been brought to court. They categorically denied committing the crime of posing a "counterrevolutionary threat to the social order." They loudly said, "We are neither organizers nor counterrevolutionaries." According to them, the gathering of the women in the village and their departure for Urosevac were spontaneous.

The lawyer Tanja Petovar from Belgrade and her colleague Adem Bajra from Pec, defending Hatmane, categorically denied the crime of which their client had been charged.

The witness Atifete Sadiku (9) from Balic appeared before the court. She was petrified with fear of the court, and did not utter a word.

Three witnesses from Balic, Hasan Sahiti, a teacher, and Nexhmije and Lule Sadiku, also gave testimony. They said that the gathering was spontaneous and that they could not say that Hatmane and Sanie had been organizers.

Reshat Millaku, deputy public prosecutor, stressed in his concluding statement that the accused had shouted no hostile slogans. He supported the charges leveled against them.

Tirana's 'Unscrupulous Attacks' Criticized

*AU1909114189 Pristina RILINDJA
in Albanian 16 Sep 89 p 2*

[Editorial taken from Pristina JEDINSTVO, date not given: "A New Pamphlet From Tirana"]

[Text] Holding fast to its 40-year-old tradition of anti-Yugoslav propaganda and territorial claims against Serbian and Yugoslav lands, Tirana has recently raised its voice before Yugoslav and world public opinion in the old, familiar way—"in defense of Albania and the Albanians in Yugoslavia." Once again the official organ and "mouthpiece" of the Albanian Workers Party [AWP], ZERI I POPULLIT, has carried a "review" of the "White Book on Kosovo," under the title "Excuse for Violence in Kosovo," which is merely one of many unscrupulous attacks against Yugoslavia and a testimony to the policy based on anti-Serb and anti-Yugoslav hatred, which the laboratories of anti-Yugoslav propaganda in Tirana have been brewing for 40 years.

The book "Kosovo, Past and Present," better known as the "White Book on Kosovo," which has now been published by Medjunarodna Politika of Belgrade after a

delay of 8 years, with the aim of informing the world about the real situation in Kosovo, has clearly only been an excuse for the AWP organ, whose real aim is to attack Yugoslavia again and to repeat for the umpteenth time that Kosovo and other areas of Serbia and Yugoslavia where Albanians live are "ancient Albanian territories."

Since he is unable to oppose the "White Book" with facts, for history has now proved the facts several times over, Sofokli Lazri, the author of this article, uses superficial slurs which do not hold water for even the most poorly-informed reader. According to him, the "White Book" should be called the "Black Book," is "a piece of malicious and unscientific propaganda," "resembles the boulevard press," and so forth. Meanwhile, there is not a word to support these and other similar slurs, and not a word that casts doubt on any of the facts concerning the past and present of this southern province of Serbia which are contained in the "White Book."

Instead, Lazri launches a whole range of quotations and phrases drawn from the familiar arsenal of anti-Yugoslav propaganda, including such "pearls" as asking Yugoslavia "How it can claim to be an ideologist of the Nonaligned Movement when it uses violence against the Albanians on its own territory?," and stating that "Even if every Serb were recruited into the police, there would not be enough of them to keep the Albanians, Croats, Montenegrins, and Slovenes under control." Thus, Tirana broadens its front of "protecting those in danger," and keeps an eye on the "endangered" Croats, Montenegrins, and Slovenes. Of course, Tirana is doing this for a reason, just as it has chosen its time for this outburst of paternalism for the Albanians and the other above-mentioned peoples of Yugoslavia. In this case, the targets of its attacks are nonalignment and Yugoslav self-management, terms which have entered the official dictionary of the Albanian language, but in a distorted sense.

All these things, alongside the fact that Sofokli Lazri, the author of this article of 14 closely printed pages, is director of the Albanian Institute for the Study of International Relations, testify to the fact that this article has assumed the character of a government document to be used in the country's international communication, and especially in communication between the world and Yugoslavia (read: Kosovo). This is also shown by reports from New York that the Albanian mission at the UN has, since yesterday, been distributing this anti-Yugoslav pamphlet, alongside others in recent weeks, among the mail boxes of journalists at the UN building, just as in 1981, when Tirana published a map of Greater Albania and distributed it throughout the world through its diplomatic missions immediately after the outbreak of the counterrevolution of the Albanian nationalists and separatists in Kosovo. It did this, of course, with the aim of joining Kosovo and other Serbian and Yugoslav lands where Albanians live to the "Illyrian trunk." This time, Tirana has gone even further by declaring the entire Balkans to be "the cradle of the Illyrians and the Albanians."

Human Rights Violations Criticized by IHF

AU1909140389 Vienna DIE PRESSE
in German 19 Sep 89 p 2

["koes" report: "Helsinki Federation Criticizes Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Vienna—According to the President of the International Helsinki Federation (IHF), Karl Schwarzenberg, the human rights situation in Yugoslavia is characterized by considerable differences between north and south. The situation is best in Slovenia and Croatia. Schwarzenberg, who toured Yugoslavia at the head of an IHF delegation, assessed the situation in Kosovo and Macedonia as "very bad."

Scharzenberg criticized the legal uncertainty in the country, which is caused by the existence of "elastic clauses." Persons who incur the displeasure of politicians are eliminated on charges of "counterrevolution" and brought to trial.

In Schwarzenberg's view, the situation in Bosnia is also alarming. Fikret Abdic, former director of the bankrupt Agrokomerc food concern, is facing trial in Bihac because of political charges and not economic ones. Schwarzenberg stressed.

Helsinki Delegation Arrival 'Unannounced'

AU2009091389 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 89 p 4

[TANJUG report: "Unannounced Guests"]

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—The delegation of the Helsinki Federation, which has already been in our country for several days for the purpose of studying the human rights situation, has not yet officially contacted or attempted to contact the Federal Secretariat for Justice and Administration, the relevant government body.

This was reported today by Blagoje Nikolic, deputy secretary at the Federal Secretariat for Justice and Administration, who emphasized that the Secretariat is still ready to talk to the Helsinki Federation delegation. Nikolic also underlined the Secretariat's readiness to provide the visitors with all relevant data and to answer every question that interests them, of course within the framework of its legal competence and in consultation with republican and provincial secretariats. The Secretariat is also interested in enabling members of the delegation to contact responsible persons and institutions, also within the framework of the provisions of the law, and to the extent to which this could not exert any influence on the further course of legal proceedings.

Yugoslavia is always a country that is open to those who wish to come, but constructive cooperation requires dialogue and consultation, so that the necessary documentation and facilities can be secured in time. This is normal practice, Blagoje Nikolic said, in a state under the rule of law.

It must be said that when their visit was announced, Vlado Kambovski, federal secretary for justice and administration, informed the president of the Helsinki Federation in writing of the readiness of our country to receive its delegation, but said that agreement would be necessary regarding the time of their arrival and the topics which interested them, because the Ninth Summit of Nonaligned Countries was being held in Belgrade, and some time was necessary to compile the necessary documentation. This is because, under our system, all the relevant data on specific topics are held by the republics and provinces, and not by the federation.

The federal secretary for justice received no answer to this letter; thus, the Federal Secretariat for Justice, as the sole competent Yugoslav body, learned of the arrival of the Helsinki Federation delegation through the media, like the rest of the public.

Hungary's Keleti Cited on Troop Withdrawal

*LD1909222889 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1621 GMT 19 Sep 89*

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 19 (TANJUG)—Next year Hungary will unilaterally withdraw troops from the border

with Austria and Yugoslavia, Hungarian Foreign Ministry spokesman Gyorgy Keleti told the Belgrade daily POLITIKA.

Even if Yugoslavia and Austria do not establish a 50 KM security zone, the Hungarian Army will only carry light weapons and reduce the number of tanks by 50 per cent, Keleti specified.

The proposal on the establishment of a 50 km zone of security, confidence and cooperation on the border with neutral Austria and non-aligned Yugoslavia was made by the Hungarian party. The proposal was accepted by both the government and the army. An official proposal on the establishment of the zone has not yet been made to Austria and Yugoslavia.

Everybody in Europe talks about demilitarized zones, but nobody has so far established one, Keleti said. Proposing such a zone Hungary will make use of the advantage that it does not border with NATO countries and that among its neighbours are one neutral and one non-aligned country with which it maintains friendly relations, the Hungarian official stressed.